1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

At Lapaha was a priestess named (or entitled) Poula whom the Tui Tonga consulted. She resided at the site now occupied by the dwelling house of the Catholic priests. For what god she officiated, I could not learn. She was no doubt the medium through which the Tui Tonga communicated with a patron deity, quite possibly Hikuleo.

The Tui Tonga appealed to the gods when he was ill, just like any other chief. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 453) gives an account of the illness of Fuanunuiava.

By far the most important ceremony in which the Tui Tonga functioned was the great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods. The word *inasi*, meaning to divide, to share, to apportion, is applied especially to food, and in the great *inasi* ceremony food and models of yams were brought as offerings. Although the food was brought to the Tui Tonga and the ceremony impossible without him, the appeal came from the people to the gods, the Tui Tonga evidently acting as intermediary. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that the Tui Tonga, being the most exalted of males, was needed in person at the ceremony in order to insure the favor of the gods. It is unfortunate that no further data on the *inasi* could be obtained in 1920 and 1921. However, the accounts of early voyagers refer to this ceremony.

Farmer (23, p. 129) says definitely, upon the authority of the Methodist missionary Thomas, that Hikuleo was the deity for whom the *inasi* was performed.

Perhaps the great *inasi* included offerings to the royal dead as well as to Hikuleo, the ruler of the realm of the dead, for seventeen royal tombs in Tongatabu received shares (*inasi*) of offerings during ceremonies at the sanctuary Fanakava in Lapaha, Tongatabu: Fangaloto, Folokomanu, Matamoana, Makamaka, Heketa, Moungalafa, Leka, Tofaua, Tauatonga, Taetaea, Tauhakeleva, Mau, Katoa, Paepae o Telea, Namoala, Tuofefafa, Tuoteau.

Misui Mafileo, an aged informant, described to me a *kotoni* ceremony (or perhaps entertainment) which he witnessed in Lapaha in his youth and at which the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a matapule named Toamalanga presided. Laufilitonga and Toamalanga formed the *mua* (focus, center, or head) of the ceremony. Laufilitonga was seated under a *koka* tree against which he leaned. Toamalanga sat beside him. The green (*malae*) of Feingakotone was the scene of the performance. Toamalanga's family wore oiled white tapa (*vakai*) in enormous folds around the waist.

Many people ("all the people in Tonga") were present. There were six or seven groups of warriors armed with clubs made from coconut fronds dried two days in the sun. The club bearers formed two lines of thirty to forty men each. On one side were men from Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, Vavau, Haapai, Eua, Fuaamotu in Tongatabu, and all the Hahake District

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

of Tongatabu. On the other side were men from Vaini, Folaha, Pea, and Nukualofa (all in the Loto [middle] District of Tongatabu), from Hihifo District of Tongatabu, and from Fiji. These two lines of antagonists fought a *falalafa* (a sham battle with coconut fronds). Apparently a blow anywhere was fair. The people of Eua were particularly expert at this game. Toamalanga controlled the combat. When he thought that it had progressed far enough he ordered the Hihifo party to desist: "Loloi matanga ki Hihifo." (Sit down all westerners.) When they had responded, he ordered the Hahake (Eastern) party down. Immediately they sat down. Then Toamalanga made a speech in which he admonished the people: "Behave well because his majesty the Tui Tonga (Afio ae Tui Tonga) is here. Do not fight and make trouble."

After Toamalanga's speech the people again stood up. The priests (*taula tevolo*) of various places and (or) their representatives had brought yams called *ufimahaki* (sick yam) the significance of which I could not learn. The representative of the priest of Holonga brought the first yam. Two men carried a long coconut-leaf basket (*fakalouinasi*) on a pole. The basket contained only banana leaves, most of the real yams being piled up behind the assembled people. Then followed the representative of the priest of Vaini with a real yam (*kahokaho*, a kind particularly reserved for chiefs). Next followed the representatives of the priest of Houma, also with a *kahokaho* yam. Hamula was next in line[5]. In carrying the yams each of these places was represented by three men. Two men supported the ends of the pole on their shoulders, the third supported the yam with his hand. The pole was carried on the left shoulder. Each of the bearers carried a war spear of toa or *fehi* wood in his right hand, and brandished it. One man from Hamula lacked a spear but brandished his hand. In addition, the families, of the priests, both males and females, carried yams. All sang, "Nofo fei moeke nofo oua e ngaue." (We have come from work.)

As the yams were being carried past the Tui Tonga he arose to depart, the people doing the same immediately he had left. The yams were carried to the sanctuary of Fanakava and there cooked and eaten by the priests and people present. None were taken to the Tui Tonga, for it was forbidden to take anything from the premises of a god.

To-day when food is presented to the king, no club fight or other activities accompany the presentation as in the past.

TOMBS OF THE TUI TONGA

The tombs of the Tui Tonga were spoken of as langi (sky). (See p. 125, for list of langi.) The Tui Tonga himself was also called Langi at times. The tombs are usually faced with dressed rectangular slabs of stone and consist of one or more terraces, so that they are often truncated

[5] The priest of Hamula was named Kavakimotu. A man of the same title is chief now.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

For an inferior person (petty chief, matapule, or commoner) to walk by a chief's house smoking is an affront; also riding horseback, carrying an umbrella, wearing a turban (*fau*), or having a garland (*sisi*) around the neck, although a *sisi* around the waist is permitted. Conversation must stop in passing a chief's house. Breaches are subject to punishment by thrashing, often by the chief himself. The conception of a supernatural punishment seems not to be entertained.

The Hihifo district of Tongatabu is tapu. No one is allowed to sing or to yell, either in settlements or in the bush. Drums may not be beaten. People must not run about in the town, and all must wear ragged mats (*taovala*) as signs of humility. These rules are enforced because of the Tui Kanokupolu and are observed in Hihifo whether the Tui Kanokupolu is in Hihifo or in Nukualofa. Again no supernatural punishment followed a breach of these rules.

OCCUPATIONAL CEREMONIAL

Christianity has been too long established is Tonga to permit of much information being obtained to-day concerning religious practices for the furtherance of various occupations. Apparently the greatest of all ceremonials of this character was the *inasi*, or Harvest Festival, which obviously had as its aim the perpetuation of agricultural welfare. It was in honor of Hikuleo, but the offerings were brought to the Tui Tonga, whom Farmer (23, p. 129) says was the high priest of this deity, a statement which cannot be verified to-day. Cook (19, p. 336) witnessed an *inasi* ceremony at which the Tui Tonga presided. The *inasi* is also described by Wilson (65, 66) and by Mariner (40,41).

Boat building, fishing, pigeon snaring, and presumably even rat shooting were preceded by ceremonial observances, but what these ceremonies were I did not learn except in the most casual way, as the following fragmentary notes indicate. Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 59, 60) describes observances in connection with shark fishing.

Just what ceremonies were performed at the launching of a vessel I did not learn. Before a new vessel could be boarded by a woman, however, a ceremony called *hopokivaka* was performed. This took place at or after the launching and was usually performed by a woman, though sometimes by a man.

The first shark caught in a new fishing boat (*tafaanga*) is called *tokialiu*. A celebration in honor of this event bears the same name. When five sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga* another ceremony occurs, called *fakatoululoto*. When ten sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga*, a third ceremony takes place, called *fakatouluhoko*. Thereafter sharks may be caught without further ado.

In pigeon snaring a man stood on the lookout for the pigeons at the mound. At their first appearance in the distance, looking only as big as the *nono* (defined by Baker as an insect and by the informant Havili as an insect smaller than an ant), dances

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

be injured by the wantonness or malice of the lower orders, who took every opportunity of insulting him. On the 16th of December, Finow, having a mind to go to the island of Wiha, for the recreation of shooting rats, invited Mr. Mariner to accompany him. The inhabitants of this island made great rejoicings on account of Finow's arrival. He remained there three or four days, spending the time principally in shooting rats* and birds.

One morning during Finow's stay at this island, some of the natives brought to Mr. Mariner his watch, which they had procured from out of his chest, and with looks of curiosity inquired what it was. He took it from them, wound it up, put it to the ear of one of them, and returned it: every hand was now outstretched with eagerness to take hold of it; it was applied in turns to their ears; they were astonished at the noise it made; they listened again to it; turned it on every side, and exclaimed "mo-ooi" (it is alive!): they then pinched and hit it, as if expecting it would squeak out; they looked at each other with wonder, laughed aloud, snapped their fingers, and made a sort of clucking noise with the tongue (expressing amazement). One brought

* Rats are frequently used as an article of diet by the lower orders: the chiefs shoot them merely for amusement.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

tions of the gods, could prevent him turning his immediate attention to the necessary preparations for a speedy attack on Vavaoo. Intermediate and unexpected events, however, put a stop, for a time, to these preparations.

At this period, there arrived from Hamoa (the Navigator's islands), Finow's son and heir, Moegnagnongo, after an absence of five years; with him came another great chief, whose name was Voona, and who had formerly been chief of Vavaoo; they and their retinue had sailed from Hamoa in six canoes, one of which, containing sixty persons, and all Moegnagnongo's treasures, was lost in a gale of wind. In their way they had touched at Vavaoo, not knowing the political situation of the island, and were very near being forcibly detained; but, observing something suspicious in the conduct of the people, they put off to sea again, and thus made their escape in time.

Their arrival at Lefooga occasioned great feasting and rejoicing, which lasted many days, and served to divert the king from his immediate warlike projects.

Two daughters of chiefs had, for several years, been kept apart, and reserved to be the wives of the young prince (as we shall beg leave to call him, to avoid the frequent repetition of his uncouth name), as soon as he

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

count from several of the natives of Chichia who visited Tonga.

A few days afterwards Cow Mooala set sail for Vavaoo, where he arrived safe with about fifty attendants, as formerly noted, consisting of Tonga people, natives of Fiji, and others. As soon as his arrival was made known to Finow, he issued orders to the owners of the different plantations of Vavaoo to bring to the *malái* at Neáfoo whatever they could afford, as presents to Cow Mooala and his companions *.

On this occasion there were wrestling, fighting with clubs, cava drinking, &c., as formerly described. It must be remarked, however, that when these great exhibitions of wrestling and fighting are shown on account of the arrival of visitors or persons who have been long absent, it is customary for the new comers to be challenged by any one or every one of the island who chooses, so that in the end they are pretty certain of getting a thorough beating. No man, however, is obliged to accept the challenge, nor is it thought dishonourable to refuse it: in short, as they merely beat one another in a friendly way, it is considered a sport for general entertainment, in which any

* It is always customary to make presents in this way to any newly arrived party, particularly to persons much respected, as was Cow Mooala, or who have been long absent.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

527 man may take an active part, if he feels himself
526 at all so disposed. In these encounters they
164 frequently get their arms broken; but this
752 gives no one any concern, scarcely even the
527 party who suffers, who immediately gets it set
526 by any one in the company, (and they are all tolerably expert at this from frequent practice,) and bound up with bandages of *gnatoo*, using splints made from the cocoa-nut tree.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 585 priest, or priestess, of the *feke* (octopus god) represented the octopus at times by sprawling on the ground.

527 766 Dances, of course, figure largely in the festivals for any joyous occasion. In earlier days, dances were performed at the funerals of great chiefs, and at the important religious festival of Inasi (First fruits). (See 18, vol. 2, pp. 131-135; 28, vol. 2, pp. 168-173; 37, p. 158.) Krämer (26, vol. 2, pp. 314-328) gives a description of Samoan dances, illustrated by photographs.

533 535 Although dancing, song, and instrumental music usually go together, they are not always associated. Labillardière says that he heard an extremely monotonous duet upon bamboo flutes and mentions Pan's pipes, or flutes, of which the "tubes give full and not very extensive notes, and the highest forms a fourth with the lowest." While I have not seen the Pan's pipes, I have seen the nose flute (*fangufangu*), but this, too, is becoming rare. The blowing of the conch is still fairly common, and there are a number of the wooden drums (*lali*).

533 Mariner mentions *lave* and *fakaniua* as types of song. But the term *lave* is used for recitation, song, or for composition recited or sung.

Falaolongo [1]

533 539 Falaolongo hard by Kailahi's cave,[a]
Fineingo and Tausisivavaki,
And the toa tree Tuihalafatai[a]
Its plaintive sighing in Avataliapi.[a]
I stood by Huafaikitama[a]
Smiling upward on the meadow.
Vailahi, my way is hidden,[a]
I remember Veingangana[a]
Playing hide-and-seek with Vaitakiafale;
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind perchance is from the north,[a]
Is it blowing upon Keitahi,
Meitumu and the breaking wave,
Veiatavake and Vaoatokotoko?[a]
The wind has gone about,
Blown about the dripping water in Veitoto;[a]
Height above Lokupo with its clinging mist,[a]
By the road in the midst of the mountain,
The moon's soft glow and uprising
Flooding with light the *fatai* and the grass,[a]
By the pool-gemmed coast of Fotumoko.[a]
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind remains in the north,
Goes gently round on the Sacred Coast,[a]
On Veingangana and Vai Aku,[a]
My vain search in the deep for bonito;[a]
I long to go on to Huangalau,[a]
Borne hither the fame of its beauty;
Is the weather coast of Tonga told in chosen words[a]
By the sand of Laulea?
When uprisen is the moon,
And gleams on Fakaulunafa[a]
And the pool Valekatoua.
Dear weather-coast of Tonga here am I.

Song of Fishers [1]

In the moons of Former Nit and Rain,[a]
Moon for this paddling on the sea,
Early has gone the king of Tefisi;[a]
Fast approaches a day of assembly.
On the morning's morn bring the boats around,
Ashore in Fasia, and early go—[a]
Tofoa at the dawn, Halakakala,[a]
And Houmafeo and Faiana,[a]
Fotuia, Ta'ane, and Omai.
Gathered are all the fisherman chiefs;
Let us look about for a teller of winds,[a]
On a day that is near for the kava ring.[a]
The nets have been lifted at Fakapu,[a]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

MALOKULA

The following is an example of topical verse. This poem was composed for and performed at festivals held to collect money to buy a boat for Haapai. The boat was called the *Malokula*, and the people of Haapai are also *malokula* (red-sashed). This has been their distinguishing mark in war, and in the peaceful contests of the dance and sports.

Lovely is our festival,
And our dancing contest,
Red-sashed here we meet in Tonga.
Let be Vavau and Haapai
That they struggle like men of the sea,
That is as their wont.
But do in the manner of great Tonga,[1]
Festival held from place to place,
And many are they who gather.
And we meet well-pleased in Pangai,
Compete, but in friendly wise,
And finish in mutual liking.
Warm are the feelings for "Malokula,"
And the majesty of the Leaf-of-pua,[2]
But indeed it is not a little voyage.[3]
Our dear rejoicing and rivalry,
Hihifo and the district in the center yonder,
And the poor castaway from the weather coast.

Chorus
Aue, step it and return,
Dancing hands towards the center, for our hands are moving badly,
Youth, come dancing hither, for that is but our way,
Let us step it with attention,
And dance in unison,
For our feet are out of time.

LAUGHTER OF WOMEN [1]

Laughter of women plucking *hingano*,
In the darkness climbing up and down;
Let us go at dawn to pluck *omoko*,
Gather hala that falls in ripeness,
Our fragrant adornment for festival.
Neck-wreaths as we go up from surf-riding.
Fakalikutonga from Finehika,[2]
Langakali and *moonia*,[3]
Portulaca and *tinatila*
For adornment of a wedded matron,
But give it to Fuaahoia,[4]
Then rejoicing carry on the dance.
If there be a stranger let him give attention
To the one accustomed to the *siale-tafa*,
New-comer yonder do you look upon
The completed snaring on Matamoana,
And the *pipi* from Fakimamana,[5]
And the *heilala* of Namalata,[6]
To twine about the necks of singers on the deck
Of a boat in darkness on the deep.
Like a dove with its wings a-flutter
Is the *omoko* of Holaavaka;[7]
I shall twine a garland from Mohekae-langa,[8]
And give to a pleasing companion,
When the fishers go up from Halaka-kala,
And sleep in Utulongoaa.[9]

Chorus
Stranger come that I may tell,
Newcomer who hast not yet seen
The headlands and the blossoms;
And it wins the heart,
And is lovely friend,
For that it is that wins the heart of me.

IF THERE BE A STRANGER

If there be a stranger let him harken to me,
Aue, folk, come dancing hither[1]
My tale that is told
How stands the town of faded garlands.
When the sun is near its setting,
And straightway the wind blows on Alaki,
And the calm falls on this strand.
I shall go down to Haapuopuai,[2]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

533 tree; but its Tongan name is Malumalu o Fulilangi (Shade of Fulilangi). It is not
539 known who is the Fulilangi thus distinguished, but the name was not uncommon among
538 the Tui Pelehake, and has also been borne by other chiefs.
823 2. Leolava (Many voices) is probably so-called because people from many parts,
including other countries, for example Fiji and Samoa, congregated here in the
[552] entourage of the Tui Tonga.
3. The town that is pleasing (*kolo fakalata*) is Mua, the Tui Tonga's capital,
[103] scene of many pleasures.
4. Kolongahau is a stone wharf near the old-time residence of the Tui Haatakalaua. There is also reclamation work here, undertaken when the place became the
644 residence of the Tui Haatakalaua.
[504] 5. The word *sunufea ni* is unintelligible. Probably it is the corruption of a
[192] foreign word, not unlikely the English fern. In the last stanza of the poem the line about the wind from the north includes the word *fea-núni* (fair-wind).
[192] 6. "Smooth white sand" is a conjectural translation of *fala-sina*, white mat. The word *fala*, mat, is often used of smooth sward or sand, and *hina*, not *sina*, is the usual Tongan form of this word.

533 Page 118. A song of fragrant flowers
539 1. Nua or Lotonua is a place name. There is a locality called Nua in Mua, the chief village of eastern Tongatabu, and the old seat of the Tui Tonga.
824 2. The names *tuitui*, *lavalava*, *nusipalataha*, and *lalaheilala* are of various types of leaf and flower ornaments for the neck and bosom. The generic name is *kahoa*.
[103] These, and other flower and leaf ornaments are *kakala* (sweet-smelling things).
3. Other types of flower ornaments are *fakaotusia*, *alamea*, and *fakalotu; fakaotusia* and *alamea* apparently are decorations for arms and ankles (*vesa*).
4. The *langakali* is a flower.
5. "Sleep in sea-water:" the flowers and leaves of a plant are sprinkled with sea-water, and left all night (*faka-mohe*) and thus their full fragrance is brought out. At night the fragrant flowers are placed underneath the wooden pillow, and so sweet are the scents that they "distract the mind."
6. The double plaiting round the top of the sisi leaf girdle is called *funganiua*, the bottom one *laloni*, and the flower *hingano* is twined into it.
7. Types of plaiting of the leaf and flower ornaments are termed *veevee*, *tuituivao*, *paangapulupaki*, and *fakamatamoana*.
8. To plait blossoms together without stringing on anything is called *kako*.
9. Ribbon, of the inner bark of the fau is called *lou*.
[103] 10. Latai, a pool on the reef, near Laulea, the famous surfriding place on the weather coast of eastern Tongatabu.
11. The "town of faded garlands" (*kolo ngatuvai*) is Mua, whither at the time of festivals are brought so many garlands, which finally, are thrown aside and fade.

533 Page 119. Malokula.
539 1. Tonga, meaning Tongatabu.
2. Leaf of *pua* (the King, George Tupou I).
[527] 3. An enterprise large enough to collect sufficient money.
[434]

Page 119. Laughter of women

[538] 1. This probably may be considered as a love poem, at least in part. Direct expressions of love and passion are extremely rare in Tongan compositions. The references to sport, fishing, pigeon-snaring, and surf-riding are partly literal and partly figurative of the pursuit of love, and throughout is the sense of the pleasantness of woman's companionship.
[103] 2. Finehika is a locality in Mua.
[824] 3. The *moonia* and the *tinatila* are plants, *tinatila* is said to be like a passion-
[551] flower. Probably both are late introductions.
4. Fuaahoia is the nickname of a chief.
5. Fakimamana; locality in Mua.
6. Namalata; place name in Eua (?).
533 7. Holaavaka; beach in Eua (?).
539 8. Mohekaelanga; place probably in Eua.
103 9. Utulongoaa, the rocky coast of eastern Tongatabu.

These routines are really routines. Most of the men spend both morning and afternoon working in their bush-gardens. There are exceptions to this when visitors arrive, when it is necessary to prepare church-lessons (in the case of a lay-preacher), when one has been up late the night before drinking *kava* so that a morning sleep is imperative, or when one may work in Neiafu, or finally, when one's garden work is sufficiently advanced that one may use afternoon time for *kava* drinking. The men spend their evenings sleeping or visiting or drinking *kava*. This routine is kept up from day to day, broken only by an occasional visit to another village, by a feast or a holiday season such as Christmas. Sometimes, as in the particular week abstracted in Table 3, one day may be started with a meeting *(fono)* of the men called by the village-overseer.[8] This meeting considered the state of the gardens after a few days of heavy rain and wind had played havoc with the banana-trees. Plans were made at this time for the replanting of banana-trees.

The work of the woman is equally of a routine nature: mat-making, preparing food, washing clothes, reef-fishing, sewing, house-cleaning, *kava*-making for the men of the household and their male visitors, and occasional days in the gardens cultivating and planting if the husband is sick. The particular woman whose week is abstracted in Table 4 had no infants or young children in her household. Had there been infants she would have kept closer to the village caring for her young children.

For both men and women, Sunday is a day of rest, sleep, and church-going. The men generally spend resting hours either sleeping or drinking *kava*. For the children, Sundays are hard to bear. They are not supposed to play but to rest quietly and act decorously. By evening there is so much pent-up energy among the children that they are past the wit or discipline of any adult to control.

[8] The Tongan *fono* council is not so much a council in the sense of a deliberative body. Rather is it a group of men assembled to hear the orders or suggestions or plans of such superiors as chief, noble, government representative. In Pangai the village overseer uses the *fono* to advise the village men of his suggestions and orders or of the orders of the government representatives in Neiafu.

A, B, [See category 116, pp. 23-24--Analyst]
A A

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
0U9 Tonga 0U9
Vavau
Pangai

512 The routine as given is for days during the month of January. It is not to be supposed however, that this routine varies greatly for different times of the year. There are no (132) marked seasonal changes in the Tongan climate except the change from a dry to a wet season. This change does not (241) affect the growth of plants to any degree. Hence the villager is cultivating for most of the year, and when he is not 512 cultivating, he is planting. Annual festivities such as 527 Christmas and New Year celebrations, missionary-conferences and the like mean a certain crescendo of economic activity because feasting and resting and then more feasting are approved Tongan methods of celebration. This kind of holiday-making can only be prepared for by extensive and increased pre-holiday working activity. Otherwise, as has been stressed, the daily routine is, by and large, the yearly routine.

512 So far we have been considering the daily routine of the 128 villager in terms of the classified statements of a table. In order to give some indication of what this daily routine means in the life of the villager, the following notes are taken from field-notebooks. They serve to show the contrasts between day by day work on the one hand and the activities centred round special celebrations on the other.

512 This is the way life runs in the village today: Bovai is 461 holding a working-party to clear the weeds from his pine-apple plantation. Many men are busy there today—his 476 friends from the Catholic church and his male relatives. They finish work in the early afternoon and then come back (574) to Bovai's house where he has ready for them a large oven-baked feast. Bovai finds this a good way to get large amounts of work done. The men enjoy this kind of work for a change. It is much more sociable, friendly, and satisfying than sweating away alone in the bush with only the persistent mosquitoes for company.

512 Hausia is taking no part in this working party. He is 461 working with the men of his own household on his own plantation. The men take time off during the day to make 592 for themselves an elaborate feast in the bush. One of the boys comes back to the village bringing with him a few baked (574) *taro*-corms and some pieces of baked *manioke*. This snack (264) is for Hausia's wife and the girls of the household who are

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga CU9
Vavau
Pangai

spending the day plaiting mats. They will sit down to their main meal of the day some time during the evening when Hausia returns from the bush carefully carrying the women's portion of the food baked during the day and set aside before the men began to eat their bush feast.

Avai's household has not been working in the bush. The men are busy roasting a large pig which will occupy the position of honour in a gift they are preparing to carry to the village of Makave, some three hours distant. Avai's mother's brother's wife died in Makave last November (three months ago). It is now time for Avai's mother to remember this event by the gift to the deceased's family of a large pig, an equally large root of green *kava* and a quantity of bark cloth. The party set off for Makave about noon; Avai with the *kava*-root and his sister on one horse, a friend Tevita with the roast pig on a second, and Sesoni (cross-cousin to Avai's mother) with the bark cloth on the third horse. The walking party was made up of Avai's mother, her husband and her daughter, the local pastor of the Church of Tonga (the family church) and the pastor's son. When the party arrives on the outskirts of Makave, the pig will be slung on a stout pole and carried thus on the shoulders of two of the men to the honoured house. The party is all dressed in best Sunday clothes. The pig is large and juicily fat. It will make a brave show as the men stagger with it through the village, going the longest and most roundabout way until the procession comes at last to rest before the bereaved household. This is as it should be. For why, says the villager, trouble to implement social and economic obligations if all do not know, talk about, and appreciate your generosity?

Biukala and Beni Kautai and their two households, about twenty men, women and children, have had a holiday today. They went for a " picnic " to a distant beach, a feast really, to honour relatives visiting from a distant village. They went with the early morning tide in a borrowed, flat-bottomed copra-boat, and returned late this evening when the tide was high again. We hear the laughing, shouting party as it returns across the lagoon and then as it straggles in a long line up the hill from the beach, children and adults excitedly talking among themselves. A little while later when we walk past Biukala's house all is silent. Young and

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

512
592
529
461
old alike have simply flopped down on the soft matted floor and fallen soundly asleep.

Swift twilight, then darkness, closes round the village. The women potter round the houses attending to a few
512
517
evening tasks before they follow the children to sleep. The men bathe and dress in cool, clean shirts and *vala*. Then they sit out of doors talking to friends or else, led by the rhythmic beating of stone on stone as *kava* is crushed, they find their way to a nearby house where a *kava*-circle is being formed. The night drifts by as they drink and talk, talk and drink. And the stars are already low in the sky when the circle breaks up. The men quietly make their way home. A baby stirs in a nightmare sleep or a dog barks excitedly at passing shadows. But, for a short time at least, the village is at rest waiting in suspense for another day to bring its hot sun and its round of common tasks.

512
461
527
The tempo of village activity is speeded up before the week of Christmas and New Year. Two days before Christmas we made the following notes:

[533] There is a slowly-developing crescendo of excitement in the village as Christmas Day approaches. Every night for the past week the youths and maidens of the village have been practising until past midnight the songs that they are newly composing to sing about the village on Christmas Day. Those more talented who also possess some musical instrument are equally busy in tearing to shreds the quietness of a village evening. They have grouped themselves together in what is politely

[534] called a "string band." The noise that comes down wind suggests that this "band" consists of a number of reedy mouth organs, a lone guitar, and a violin with two of its three strings missing.

[412] For all the people the working-day starts very early. This morning at four a.m. for instance, the woman in the house nearest us was busy cutting the long grass about her house with the huge three-foot bush-knife that serves the villager for all purposes from a lawn-mower to nail cutter or razor. All four of her children, the oldest under six, frolicked joyfully about her, pursued by her anguished screams as they forgetfully frisked within danger distance of the swift-cutting knife.

[356] Equally industrious, the men have been going to their bush plantations at dawn and returning just before dusk with heavy loads of food. The women have put in long days washing clothes, cutting grass and sweeping up all the rubbish of months from their house sections. Everything must be neat and tidy for Christmas week.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

527
461

by other villagers. A week of New Year festivity and celebration evidently performs the very useful function in village life of making plantation work appear highly desirable by contrast with the monotony of merry-making.

Organization of Work

644 General supervision over the whole of the island of Pangai because of its nature as a Royal estate is exercised by an overseer resident in Pangai village. His supervision is limited to a general care of all the lands comprising the estate to ensure that there is an adequate food-supply available for all the households of the village. He may report to government officials in Neiafu the names of those heads of households who, he considers, have not planted sufficient land to care for the needs of the household. Pressure and the threat of a possible jail-sentence would then be brought upon such men. Should it become desirable or possible to export more bananas or pineapples from [623] Vava'u, then the overseer would hold a council of the men of the village and give a strong lead and direction to an increased planting programme. At all times the overseer seeks to prevent a wilful misuse of the land or a destruction of its values.

Beyond this land-control, the duties of the overseer seem vague and ill-defined. He functions in the village at times as a sort of government representative. Official announcements of policy or government enactments generally filter through to the villagers from conversations or councils with the overseer. He is also responsible in theory [744] for seeing that laws relating to public health (such a law for instance, as that which relates to the covering of cisterns from which drinking water is drawn) are observed, though in practice the Pangai overseer shows complete indifference to such responsibilities. He maintains a residence in Pangai and another in Neiafu. His duties as estate-overseer are somewhat complicated by the fact that he also functions [502] actively as government pilot for the port of Neiafu. On the balance however, the overseer does add materially at times to the more efficient production of economic goods by the leadership he gives to agricultural activities.

461
476
183
464
591

The work of production in the Tongan village may be carried on either by one man working by himself or else

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

plants. The above staples would be planted as required in such a way as to keep the amounts and proportions fairly constant. 241

Such is the fertility of the Pangai soil that only a small part of a man's *api* is used for garden-purposes. Thus Biukala controls three *api* which total about fifty acres. He allows a relative to garden two acres of one *api*. The remainder of this *api* is given over to bush and coconuts. The second *api* is not cultivated but is used for coconut-production. On the third *api* Biukala gardens about three acres for his own household needs, taking coconuts from the remainder. From these three *api* Biukala thus supports his own household and that of a relative as well as securing, under optimum conditions, about twenty-five tons of copra each year. Most villagers with their normally small *api* can easily produce enough food for their households (if they are reasonably industrious according to Tongan standards) and can also expect to obtain up to five tons of copra each year. 241 423 311

Such also is the fertility of the soil that there appear to be few beliefs, if any, of a magical nature associated with garden cultivation. The villager knows full well that most of what he plants will grow. Insect pests, high winds and hurricanes, excessive rain or excessive dryness will affect his harvest from time to time. But it is convenient today to look upon these natural events as God-sent against which the skill and hopes of man avail nothing. Similarly the influence of government agricultural experts and of agricultural teachers in the government and mission-colleges tends to inculcate a scientific fatalism where religious fatalism leaves off. Neither agricultural art nor religious excuse, taken singly or together, leaves much ground for specifically magical belief or practice. Garden magic therefore, is conspicuously absent in the emotional and intellectual make-up of the average Pangai cultivator. 241 789 [242] [654]

LIVESTOCK

Most households in the village own at least several pigs. These are necessary not so much for ordinary food-consumption but in order to fulfil feast obligations whenever these fall due at times of birth, marriage, death, visits of 231 594 529

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

special kin, church-thanksgivings, and the like. It is well to be prepared for these possible functions with pigs on hand. Otherwise the pigs will have to be bought from whomsoever can be persuaded to sell. The price is likely to be high. Biukala, to take a typical case, has now five pigs, three sows and two boars. During 1938 he killed ten pigs: six for his son's first birthday (he also purchased an additional large pig for this feast, thus signalising with a memorable feast the prestige of his high status among the other commoner families of this village), two for Christmas celebrations, and two sucklings which he sold when temporarily short of ready cash. No feast can claim to be a feast without the service of pork. Hence the premium on the keeping of pigs.

Most village households also own at least one horse. This is most useful for visiting distant villages, for riding (bareback) to and from the plantation, and more particularly for use as a pack animal in bringing back heavy loads of food and firewood to the village from the plantations.

Many households possess a few chickens which are used as an occasional food relish and for feasts. The eggs, if any, may be sold for a pittance to the trading station, the manager of which takes them in turn to Neiafu where they are sold from the big stores to the European residents. Two families have several goats, useful for feast-occasions. The village overseer owns two cows and a bull. At rare intervals he sells a cow or a calf to a butcher in Neiafu. He slaughtered one cow himself for the birthday-feast of his son. Neither milk nor manure are used. The animals have mostly prestige value.

Pigs are nominally supposed to be kept inside enclosures in the village. They usually wander round the village, unhindered, unhampered, and occasionally venture into the bush where they often play havoc with the gardens. They are usually fed on mature coconuts, specially if fattening is necessary for a forthcoming feast. Otherwise they root up the free village lands hunting for roots and wallowing in the consequent mud baths during the rainy season. Goats, cows, and horses are kept tethered in the plantations where they find enough green foods to keep them in good condition. Chickens are semi-wild, roosting in the trees and only to be

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

262 264 121 114 each day (the second meal is regarded more as a light "snack" than as a true meal). It is natural that he should eat in quantity just to satisfy an appetite sharpened by a day of hard physical labour on his plantation. Probably also, he must eat in quantity to secure sufficient food-elements in a dietary that is made up largely of vegetable staples. In this dietary quality-food is largely absent. It would be difficult, therefore, for the Tongan to show anything but an emphasis on quantity to the exclusion of quality.

262 178 Probably the quality of Tongan food could be improved by a return to old-time methods of preparing and cooking food. But it is doubtful whether the Tongan would eat any less even though the quality of his food were thus improved. As far as improving the quality of food is concerned through greater variety of vegetable and animal staples, this is impossible for the Tongan without radically upsetting the whole basis of his subsistence-economy.

262 264 121 114 We apparently do not have comparable figures which would show the amount of food eaten by a labourer in our own society during each day. One suspects that were this amount known and all eaten during the course of one main meal, then the quantity of food consumed by this labourer might not differ greatly from the quantity of food eaten by the Tongan during his one main daily meal. This Tongan material suggests, therefore, that even though the Tongan eating-emphasis falls on bulk, this may be largely due, not to food-anxiety (though other factors may still produce food-anxieties in the Tongan village-culture), but to the fact that the villager eats but one large meal each day of a diet that is deficient in quality-foods. Further analysis of Marquesan eating-habits might, in sum, lead to this conclusion also, and suggest even more general Polynesian characteristics in regard to eating-habits that would demand a psychodynamic explanation in terms other than an emphasis on underlying food-anxiety.

FEASTS

504 529 The various feast-occasions are mentioned throughout this text, specially in the sections on the life-cycle, where the functional and symbolic interrelations of feasts with the validation of special or critical situations

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

in the social life of the individual or group will be described. Here the various kinds of feasts may be classified in order to show the status-hierarchies that are symbolized by feast-occasions. The types of feasts required by specific occasions are named after the size of the pig and the size of the *kava* root that are considered necessary for this occasion. To the villager a pig is not merely a pig and nothing else. The pig has value as a source of food. It has greater value, however, as the symbolic expression of the struggles of a household to do what is fit and requisite in expressing its social status on feast-occasions.[14] The villager rarely talks of a pig, generically. He talks of this pig or of that pig as being a *toho* or a *hula* or a *ha'amo*, using these terms to express the hierarchy of feasts which pigs of various sizes will be called on to grace. Pigs are carefully nurtured and fattened by a household according to the schedule of likely future social obligations. When one of these obligations is carried out with a pig of obligatory size, or with a pig of larger size if there is urge to ostentatious display, then the household is satisfied that it has not failed in that implicit, but nonetheless precise, measure of the give and take that is basic to the functioning of reciprocal obligations.

The hierarchy of feasts together with the ancient and modern occasions for their display, are as follows:

Umu puaka toho: feast with a pig and *kava* root of *toho* size. The pig is a fully-tusked boar or a very large-sized sow. This feast is held for such varied occasions as first, the feast given by an important father at the wedding of his favourite child; second, the feast contributed by the village as part of its gifts should the Queen of Tonga visit Vava'u; third, the feast (though it would be somewhat ostentatious in this connection) given by a child should the mother come to visit from another part of the kingdom; finally, the feast given to mark the occasion of the purchase

[14] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 108) makes the following statement: "An example of what would seem an opprobrious epithet for a group of people is Puaka Haa Ngana (Pigs of the Lineage of Ngana)." It is highly doubtful whether a Tongan would regard this lineage-name as opprobrious. To the villager pigs are not opprobrious or common or vulgar: they are both glamorous and glorious! The name Puaka is a not uncommon personal name. None of the villagers felt that such a name meant anything insulting. It was just a name—and nothing else.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

527 of a new cart, wagon or motor-truck—a man's sister's
574 children, dressed in their best clothes, take the first ride in
262 the new vehicle, thereafter being entertained with a feast of this type, an occasion which would rarely happen in Pangai where wheeled vehicles are unknown.

(276) *Umu hula:* the *hula* pig and *hula kava* root are second largest in size. A feast with this pig is obligatory first, when close blood or affinal relatives come together after long residence far apart; second, when the parents of a child that one has adopted come from another part of the kingdom to visit the household; third, for the feast that is served the women working together in the village bark cloth-making house.

Umu puaka ha'amo: the pig for this feast is just too heavy to carry by hand and must be tied to a carrying-pole for easy lifting.

Umu fakahunga: this requires a pig of large size but one that is manageable by hand.

Umu kaveitau: it is unnecessary to serve a whole pig with this feast; fish, meat, and chicken form the main flesh-relish with small pieces of pork additional.

527 The last three feasts mentioned above are all in order
574 on occasions of marriage, death, mourning, and the like.
554 The status of the household giving the feast is measured by
592 the size of pig and *kava*-root employed as the major feature
262 of the feast. Households with few resources would give an *umu kaveitau*; those with greater wealth and resources to draw on would not be content with less than an *umu puaka ha'amo*. Greater prestige may also be given to any of these feasts by serving several pigs of a named size, or else by serving one large pig together with many pigs of smaller size, or finally, one large pig of named size and many small portions of pork. The variations in service are endless, but the feast is known by the size of the largest pig on display.

527 Two further types of prepared foods are used to mark
262 minor occasions. The *kai me'a kai* is the name of the collection of food taken by a party going off to spend the day picnicking. The women put much work into preparing the food for such a gathering. The result, therefore, is much different from the order of foods that would be prominent at a white man's picnic. A suckling-pig may often be oven-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

cooked at the picnic place, and large quantities of other food will be eaten.

The *kai tunu* corresponds to the basket of food that figures so prominently in the church-suppers and socials of the white man. In Pangai it is contributed by arrangement for such occasions as an evening devoted to singing sacred songs; for an occasional gift to the pastor of the church, for a carpenter called in to repair the church structure; for the singing and dancing-parties which meet to practise many nights in succession before some large church conference or before the visit of a member of the royal family to Vava'u. If for a group, the food is laid out and eaten after the more serious business of the evening is finished; if for an individual, the food is taken to the household and there eaten in company with household members. It is unlikely that there would be any pork in any of these food-contributions. Possibly a bit of fish or chicken would be included, but mostly the food would be prepared from the regular vegetable staples.

On almost all occasions when the villager joins with his fellows for work or play food is served and eaten together. It symbolizes good fellowship (as when a large group is invited to a birthday-feast), token-payment for services rendered (as with a working-party), validation of a socially important contract (as in a marriage-feast), or it serves as a method of marking the arrival or departure of individuals who make up the social group (birth- and death-feasts). On all of these and on other occasions still, when food is served to the group, the satisfaction of hunger is of course important. None who have watched the villager eat at one of these feasts can doubt either his hunger or his capacity for consuming the largest amounts of food. Beyond this, however, the symbolic significance of the feast is not to be overlooked. The villager is certainly well aware that the feast transforms mere eating into an expression of the social values of the group.

One further type of food-distribution may be mentioned in this context; that is, a combination of a feast and food-distribution for a specific money-raising purpose. This is the feast termed *aho no*—"borrowing day" (?). It is held on any occasion when the householder wishes to raise a

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

434 511 592 [651] [429] [794] Some further notes may be added concerning Biukala's expenditure. His poll-tax payments include his own as well as those of a man from the island of Uvea who has taken up residence in his household and who assists in turn with gardening and copra making. The rents are for three *api* in Pangai and a fourth in Tongatapu. Church gifts include the quarterly offering of 6/-, together with a special missionary offering of £2 0s 0d and the gift to the church of a can of kerosene. Biukala, obviously, is a very strong functioning member of the church. For the first birthday [527] of his only son to whom Biukala is greatly attached, the father made a large feast. Besides large quantities of Tongan food (including an additional pig which had to be purchased), Biukala bought from the store such foods as flour, sugar, fish, spices (his wife has learned to bake cakes), melons, canned milk. He also bought as a birthday-gift for his son a fathom of piece goods to make a *vala* for the infant. This birthday-feast in consequence, is remembered as one of the really big village functions of the year. The [432] other store expenditures of these months include the usual soap, kerosene, flour, sugar, canned meat, canned fish, and piece-goods for *vala* as well as seeds for his garden. [431] Biukala's mother lives on a town-lot in Nukualofa. Here money economy is much more important than in Pangai, and his substantial gift was doubtless of great value to the mother.

434 439 It is not possible to estimate with any accuracy the total income of Pangai village as a whole. Money is obtained principally from the sale of copra, bananas, and pineapples, and from services. Of these sources, copra sales are highest on the list, sale of bananas second, the sale of pineapples and services (stevedoring for one or two men, occasional work in a store), far below the others. Some few men in the village make a point of being vitally interested in banana exportation. Each of these men tries to prepare from eight to ten cases of bananas for export about five or six times each year. He receives from three to five shillings per case, depending on market price. About five other men in the village occasionally export one case of bananas each. Thus, under the most favourable conditions, each man in the first group may add perhaps £10 to his yearly income and each

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

they were told I was going to burn the sacred tree. They then said, 'O, let these worshippers alone. They will soon know the evil that will come of it. Taufa, the chief of Nomuka, has come to Malubo, that they may agree with Tuita and Lolohea, to sieze Taufa-ahau, while they slay the Christians.' The women also told this to Samuela Toto, who brought the report to me, that we were to be murdered, while the king was held a prisoner. I then instantly wrote a letter to the king. This happened on a great heathen feast-day, when all the people were assembled to witness games of boxing and wrestling, and other heathen practices. Upon receiving the letter, the king sent a message to those who were considered Christians, requesting their presence without delay. When all had come, he addressed them thus: 'This letter tells me, forsooth, that I am to be taken and bound fast, by order of the chiefs, while you are to be slain because you have begun to pray. Now, then, I tell you, let every man among you go and kill each his pig, and feast himself, and cut up his *gatu*, (or native cloth,) and put on his best dress. And let none of you be mischievous or evil-disposed; but come all of you together this afternoon, and I will join with you in prayer.' With this understanding we separated, and I went away to the village of Holobeka. But I had not been long there, when a man came running in to order me back to Lifuka. The chiefs had been informed of the king's speech, and of his intention to join the Christians; and they were now met to find out who had told the king what they intended to do to himself and to the Christians. Suspicion fell on me. When I got back, I found the investigation was concluded. Some of the

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

Bedecked with colorful flowers and people, this truck leaves Nuku'alofa for a day of feasting, swimming, dancing and singing at the beach.

Ko e uta eni ki matatahi 'o ha kau kai tunu mei Nuku'alofa.

Nature's genius shaped the maze of inlets which thread around velvet-covered islands in Vava'u, embracing one of the most beautiful harbors in the Pacific *(photo on opposite page).*

'Oku kau e taulanga 'o Neiafu, Vava'u, 'i he faka'ofo'ofa taha 'i he Pasifiki *(ta 'i to'omata'u).*

[photo is on p. 53-A]

527
643
648

With pomp and glory, the King is welcomed back from a royal visit to Japan—wherein new pathways in international relations were opened.

Ko e talitali eni 'o Tupou IV 'i he liuaki mai e ha'ele mei Siapani.

The heart of downtown Nuku'alofa, Taufa'ahau Road, is nearly deserted on a Sunday, for in Tonga the Sabbath is considered sacred. The same main road teems with activity on a typical shopping day.

Fu'u matu'aki ngaongao 'aupito e Hala Taufa'ahau he 'aho Sapate koe'uhi ko e 'aho tapu.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9- Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

527 While ordinary Tongans are regularly involved on an individual and small-group basis with people from beyond their own village, there are few situations in which they have the opportunity to express their identity as Tongans in common with thousands of other Tongans. From time to time, however, the nation is activated by events known as kātoanga ('public celebration or festivity'). Thousands of people are involved in these events, both in preparations and in direct participation in gigantic feasts, traditional dancing and other public entertainments, and ceremonial and spectacular activities of other kinds.

527 648 One kātoanga took place during the period of my fieldwork, on the occasion of the visit of the Queen of England in March 1970. Although the Royal Visit lasted for only one day, in Motulahi it was preceded by about seven weeks of preparation and upheaval, and similar activities went on throughout Tongatapu. Furthermore, while the kātoanga took place only on Tongatapu, not only [484] the people of that island were involved. Contributions were levied in all parts of Tonga, in the same way that the villagers of Motulahi had been informed what their contributions were to be, and thousands of people made the trip

---

[571] [182] [612] [602] that the nation is the kinship system writ large. I would certainly not equate the political system of Tonga with the kinship system.

527 to Tongatapu accompanying their prestations. For many of
648 the visitors, the kātoanga provided the occasion for
484 visiting Tongatapu and re-activating relationships with kin from different parts of the country. One month after the Royal Visit there were still some visitors in Motulahi who told me that they had come "for the kātoanga".

527 Less than two weeks after the Royal Visit, prepara-
648 tions were under way for another kātoanga. This one was to take place over a four-day period in June 1970, marking the attainment of fully-independent status for Tonga and
527 concurrent entry into the British Commonwealth. Although it is not usual for kātoanga to follow one another as swiftly as this, these national events generally occur at least once a year, with the occasion varying from one year
175 to the next.[11] Kātoanga are not merely a modern phenomenon.
527 In pre-modern times there were celebrations associated with
651 the annual 'Inasi ceremony, the Presentation of the First Fruits to the sacred Tu'i Tonga. The following is an

---

11 In 1969, the occasion was the celebration of the twenty-first birthday of the Crown Prince; in 1968 it was the celebration of the fiftieth birthday ("the jubilee") of His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV; in 1967 the occasion was His Majesty's Coronation; and in 1966 it was the celebration of the centenary of secondary education in Tonga. In 1965 there was no kātoanga, as Her Majesty Queen Sālote Tupou III was gravely ill. However, the activities associated with her funeral in December 1965 were the occasion for rituals involving many thousands of people.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

175 extract from the diary of an early missionary in Tonga:

527 651 The great ceremony of ['Inasi], one of the greatest festivals in Tonga, ceased today. . . . That part of the island where we live is called the [Mu'a], or metropolis of Tonga; and to this place the chiefs of Vavaou and the Hapais bring their ['inasi], towards the end of the last moon the fleet of canoes and crowds of people by land rendering the [Mu'a] a moving scene of universal bustle and stir. The ceremony lasts nine days. Every day has its special transaction (Lawry Diary, October 21, 1822; quoted in Urbanowicz 1972: 93).

Similarly, Captain Cook, who was anchored off Mu'a at the time of the 'Inasi in 1777, reported witnessing a gathering of about 10,000 people.

527 182 In my view, these festivities--both ancient and modern--are a significant means of national integration. Besides their effect of bringing ordinary people together for the renewal of kinship ties and other relationships, they provide an occasion for re-affirming and re-inforcing a sense of national unity and Tongan identity. This is particularly important in view of the fact that the population is widely spread out over many islands, not to mention the fact that national-level institutions, for the most part, are remote from the majority of people.

While the integrative functions of national events such as kātoanga and other ceremonial features of Tongan society are of considerable importance, it should be noted that these events involve a significant drain on government and individual resources, both materially and in terms of time and effort. Detailed consideration of these costs

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

527 and benefits, however, is beyond the scope of a study of
182 local organization. This and other elements touched on in this chapter--such as the operation of personal networks of communication and assistance throughout Tonga and beyond the Tonga Islands, the relationship between private and institutional connections among persons of high rank within the national-level authorities, assessment of the extent of social mobility beyond the horizontal mobility seen at the local level--are essential elements of a political study that would place the local data presented in this dissertation in national perspective. Such a study remains to be done.

60: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

as a back rest during the coronation of the 'Tu'i Kanokupolu at a place called Havelu in the village of Kanokupolu.

The second part of Stanza 10 ends the poem by telling us that the reason for the poetry is the commemoration of the great deeds of the chiefly ancestors of the present King, such as the retrieval of Sangone's shell and the distribution of land. It is such deeds that elevated the chiefs of old, and it is their descendants who are today's chiefs, responsible for leading the people and making possible celebrations such as the one during which this *lakalaka* is performed. The celebration (*katoanga*) is referred to in the words "there are many people at *vaha' akolo*" (the area that divides two villages at the place where the palace stands). Line 53, a stylized statement borrowed from an ancient dance type (*fa'ahiula*), refers to the stringing of pandanus keys for a necklace worn by high chiefs at celebrations. The second part of this stanza, then, brings us back to the present and acknowledges the high position of the chiefs to whom the people owe their allegiance. This is the closing counterpart of the *fakatapu* in Stanza 2.

The preoccupation with genealogy, apparent in the poetry, reflects the importance of ancestry in the Tongan social system. On the social level all titles and property are validated by appealing to genealogy, and on an everyday level all interpersonal relationships are determined by the genealogies of the persons involved. The structure of the poetry also pays strict attention to the rules of Tongan etiquette, which also is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. The *fakatapu* (Stanza 2) must acknowledge the presence of chiefs and people of high rank; and the ending must again refer to the chiefs by bringing attention back to them. It is a stylized way for the *lakalaka* to ask for permission to speak, and after having spoken, again defer to the chiefs.

The story, then—that of Sangone in this case—is really secondary and is used as a vehicle for presenting the real object of the poetry and its accompanying dance: to pay allegiance to the established order of Tongan society.

The poetry can be interpreted in many different ways and on many different levels. This paper suggests only a few of the many possible meanings. Many of the references are quite obscure and hidden in rhetoric and metaphorical language. Even the performers seldom know the meaning of what they are performing. They know that the references are to chiefs, but the actual stories and circumstances are known only to other poets who deal in similar Tongan lore, and sometimes to the choreographer, who may be given an explanation by the poet who composed it. The interpretation given here is a composite of information given to me by several individuals, including dancers who knew only a few of the references, a ceremonial attendant (*matāpule*) who helps to teach the dance and explained the obscure references in Stanza 7, and a woman employed in the Palace office who knew the meaning of Stanza 8. Only the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, knew the meanings of Hau-o-Momo, Tangoipomana, the reference to *'ika moana*, and the meaning of Stanza 9. Ve'ehala, however, is a prolific poet who has written *lakalaka* poetry for his own village as well as official *lakalakas* for the Tongan government.

The performance of the poetry with dance accompaniment is usually on state occasions, as a "gift" to the Palace, along with first fruits or on other food giving occasions, as a farewell or welcome for one of the royal family, for local celebra-

60:. Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

538 tions such as the dedication of a new church, or as a welcome to visiting dignitaries.
535 As in any living dance tradition, the forms of dance in Tonga have changed. The
[527] poetry which dance accompanies, however, still makes reference to the same or similar themes: cosmology; legendary origin of monuments, tombs, and fabulous ships; heroes and beautiful women; sacred animals; and stories associated with outstanding local events. The performances serve the chiefs today just as they have always done—to honor and entertain them, and to demonstrate the allegiance of their subjects. As long as the present social system of Tonga remains, dances of this type will no doubt continue to be created and performed.

NOTES

000

1. Presented at the Eleventh Pacific Science Congress of the Pacific Science Association, held at the University of Tokyo, Japan, August–September, 1966, and organized by the Science Council of [122] Japan. Research in the Tonga Islands was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-FI-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I also wish to acknowledge Katherine Luomala, Penieli Fisi'hoi, and Genevieve Highland for reviewing the manuscript; and Alan Howard, who directed my graduate program.

113 2. Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (Honolulu, 1924), 49–52.

3. E. E. V. Collocott and John Havea, *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans*, Bishop Museum Occasional Papers VIII (Honolulu, 1922), 48.

4. Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Society*, Bishop Museum Bulletin 61 (Honolulu, 1929), 142, 233–234.

Bishop Museum
Honolulu, Hawaii

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the "Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973 114.
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Josaia] Tubou presided of course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still] refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE [N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion: and the principal things affected by this appointment are as follows: OLD Fatu who was the 1st heathen [or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SIMI AND FOKI as Tuihaamea, because the fortress at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumafa kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal party on *H.M.V. Kao*, I route to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about everything under the Tongan sun, including *Kava*). Much of my thinking about *Kava* has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970 134; and Sahlins 1958 24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

through a procedure of random draws; methodologically, each household head was considered to be a single stratum. For each household head selected, all exchange events in which he or she was a principal were recorded for a period of five days. With five days being recorded for each of twenty informants, a one hundred-day record of exchanges was obtained. All one hundred days were recorded in one two-week period with the days recorded for each informant determined by his availability. Sundays were excluded from the sample as the government outlaws most economic activities on the Sabbath. Sample A, then, was used to obtain information on all types of exchanges including purchasing, trading, and gift-giving. This sample was also used to gather data on household incomes, consumption patterns, and household inventories.

A second stratified, random sample, sample B, was drawn by utilizing all household heads in the village, each informant being a single stratum. The procedure in this instance was to visit each informant at approximately two-week intervals and record information on four exchange events, two in which the informant had been a recipient and two in which he had been the donor. All exchange events in this sample involve material items or money where money was transferred as a gift or loan. Sample, B, then, consists only of exchange events that are instances of reciprocity, and is used to analyze the patterns of reciprocity.

Samples A and B were both obtained in the village of Puke which was the scene of most of the research for this study. Puke is described in Chapter II. The samples are representative of exchange events

574 Christmas, New Years, the Sabbath, and the several national holiday of
(527) Tonga such as the King's birthday. Feasting is also important at funer-
574 als, farewells, and welcomings. Each feast may be viewed as small-scale
571 redistribution where many individulas may be asked to contribute food and are also asked to attend. For the feast-giver there is the prestige and reward of obligating others to him. The social units participating in the preparation of a feast vary from the members of one household to an entire village. In Puke one of the basic reasons for village division is to facilitate the preparation of feasts for village guests, particularly churchmen. Each of the divisions takes its turn in rotation.

The Modes of Transaction

128 In this section I will describe the types of transactions used in the flow of goods and services and try to establish the relative importance of each. Possibly the most outstanding feature of this aspect of
432 178 the Tongan economy is the integration of modern market modes of transactions with the traditional forms of reciprocity. Buying and selling
432 178 443 558 626 is still a relatively new idea in Tonga and there is some social stigma attached to persons who engage in such activities. Persons selling food are frequently the topic of gossip as Tongans wonder why the seller is not giving the food. A common ploy used by vendors of foodstuff is to use children as the salesmen; this tactic helps prevent gossip and removes the vendor from a situation in which he might be asked to reduce his price for kinsmen and friends or even freely give the merchandise.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

Moulton ran into some difficulty when he tried to introduce formal music training in his college. He thought that the best way to teach music to the Tongans was to use tonic solfa. However, he soon found to his embarrassment that some of the common combinations of notes of the tonic solfa were obscene in Tongan. He then ingeniously devised a special notation, using numbers (Moulton 1921:54):

to	lu	fa	ma	ni	o	no	tu	fi	va	a	hi	to
3	3̷	4	4̷	5	6	6̷	7	7̷	8	8̷	9	3̇

The Tongans are very proud of this notation and it has really enhanced their interest in and enthusiasm for music. Hymns and classical masterpieces were transcribed into the new notation and sung by several hundred voices in each choir. The College itself, naturally, took the lead and its students spread its use to the villages throughout the country.

Charles Tucker and his wife introduced some improvement in teaching methods in Ha'apai as early as 1835 by grading students according to their progress. Matthew Wilson followed this up at Hihifo in Tongatapu in the early forties and found the method very popular among his students. Further attraction was also created by the introduction of the Glasgow method by Amos towards the end of the forties, proving the missionaries right in the belief that the method would suit the Tongans.

Meanwhile the infants' or children's school developed by Mrs Wilson at Vava'u proved so successful that it soon spread to the other islands. Young boys and girls now attended and it became very popular. Annual school feasts for the examination of the infant schools were organised at least at Vava'u and Ha'apai, and prizes were awarded for outstanding achievements. These school feasts captured the imagination and interest of the entire population of the two groups and became delightful annual events for the whole community.

In Tongatapu, school examination also became a big attraction. King George himself, the Queen and some of the chiefs became patrons of various schools. In his visit to Tonga in 1850 Lawry

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

was very impressed by a school from the small village of Tofoa, conducted by a young woman who was trained by Amos. Young, in 1853, spoke glowingly of the results of school examinations at Nuku'alofa and in particular the school for young women of which the wife of the Chief Justice was both patron and teacher.

The Methodists in England belonged to that section of the English Dissent which held strong Sabbatarian views, and in Tonga the sacredness of the Sabbath was an integral part of the missionaries' teaching. Tongan converts accepted this aspect of the missionaries' teaching with all seriousness. They regarded it in the same spirit as they observed the traditional taboos. Referring to this reverence for the Sabbath in Tonga, Young (1854:268) wrote:

> Never had I previously observed such respect paid to the Sabbath of the Lord. The day appears to be exclusively devoted to religious services, and nothing meets the eye or ear infringing upon the sanctity of that blessed day, but everywhere incense and a pure offering seem to be presented to the Lord of Hosts. If the people are beheld coming from their habitations, it is that they may go up to the house of the Lord, and inquire in his holy temple. If a canoe is seen in the offing, it is conveying a Local Preacher to his appointment in some distant island, that he may preach unto the people Jesus. If noises occasionally fall upon the ear, they are not those of revelry and strife, but of holy praise and fervent prayer going up to heaven.

Observing the sacredness of the Sabbath later became a part of the constitution of Tonga.

Consistent with their puritanical attitudes to work, the missionaries seriously promoted industrious habits and commerce. People were encouraged to cultivate their land, build better dwelling places, and produce coconut oil for sale. Contribution to the mission was introduced and encouraged, as being part and parcel of the kind of life expected of converts to Christianity.

The many and diverse attractions of the mission activities led, among other things, to a redistribution of population in Tonga. Converts tended to move from their home areas to the centres where the missionaries resided, in order to attend the services and receive instruction in their new religion. Others moved into the

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

man had his own wife at Tonga many evils would be avoided and many sins destroyed'. In order to safeguard marriage Section 8 decreed that a deserted wife might claim her husband's plantations and property while a woman who deserted her husband should be brought back to him; if she refused to remain she could not lawfully remarry during her husband's lifetime.

It should be pointed out that marriages in Tonga were frequently arranged, by one's parents or by a chief, without reference to the wishes of the couple who were betrothed. A marriage was entered simply by the woman cohabiting with a man under his roof and protection. She was expected to remain with her husband until such time as he might choose to divorce her. Mariner estimated that about two-thirds of the married women in Tonga had been divorced and married again several times. The missionaries condemned this custom, not only because they regarded it as immoral and sinful, but also because it had led to several murders, when men of lower rank had married the former wives of superior chiefs.

The great emphasis which was placed on the holiness of the Sabbath and of church services by the missionaries is clearly and unequivocally reflected in Section 2, which exhorts people to abstain from work on the Sabbath day and to attend places of worship, and which makes it an offence for anyone to disturb the service or insult the minister of the congregation.

Another distinct feature of the Code is the importance given to industrious habits and the cultivation of the land. Many missionaries complained bitterly because the Tongans appeared to them incredibly indolent. In a letter to the General Secretary of the mission, the Reverend John Whewell asserted that the Tongans were naturally indolent. 'Only the old and married people', he wrote, 'profess to work. The young people spend their time up to manhood in supreme indolence or in what is worse—voyaging from group to group' (Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170). A few, on the other hand, argued that the people were not entirely an idle race. Their aversion to work was mainly due to the abundance of natural resources from which their simple wants were supplied. Hence, there was no strong incentive for them to work, but when it appeared necessary

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

671 of the country were identical, and to obey the laws was to obey the will of their beloved sovereign.

642 Perhaps the most revolutionary constitutional measures introduced in the 1862 Code were the emancipation of the common people from serfdom, and the setting up of a state revenue out of which the remuneration of government officials was to be paid (Clause XXXIV). There was also a provision dealing with the allotment of farm lands to the people (Clause XXXIV:6 and 7).

[643] [565] [651] [425]

The constitutional measures contained in the legislation discussed so far were largely incidental. The primary task confronting the legislators up to this stage was the formulation of laws. It was not until 1875 that a planned constitution was drawn up and promulgated.[1] This constitution was a long document of 132 articles which were contained in three main divisions: Declaration of Rights; Form of Government; and The Lands.

642

The Declaration of Rights consisted of 32 articles. It contained the usual safeguards, following very closely those of the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852. The first article asserted the right to freedom of person and possessions of 'all people who reside or may reside in this kingdom'. The other articles guaranteed the liberty of every individual, the equality of all men—chiefs or commoners, Tongans or foreigners—before the laws of the country; freedom of worship, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. The people's right to expect the government to protect their life, liberty and property was also guaranteed, and consequently they were expected to 'assist and pay taxes to the Government according to law'. The right to vote for the representative to the Legislative Assembly was given to anyone (native born or naturalised) who had reached 21 years and paid taxes, and who had 'not been guilty of any major crime such as treason, murder, theft, bribery, perjury, forgery and embezzlement or a like crime'. Jury service was expected of everyone eligible to vote excepting members of the legislature, missionaries, teachers and any government employees (see Appendix D, Clause 30).

642 641

642 The continuing influence of the missionaries was evident in such sections as the provision concerning the Sabbath which declared it to be 'sacred in Tonga for ever' (Clause 6).

[522] [466]

In the provisions controlling the labour traffic it was stated

1 [See category 642, pp. 252-284--Analyst]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

never been recognized as a separate entity by the medical profession at that time. 164
The missionary's wife wrote: 165

"After Matthew returned from the islands a very severe affliction broke out. It is supposed to have been brought in a ship to Vava'u, from thence to Nuku'alofa in a canoe, and several of the canoe's crew first died in it. Then it broke out among the people at Nuku'alofa. We heard of the fearful devastation which it made among the people at that place, but nothing occurred here for some time. At length, it found its way to Hihifo, by people going backwards and forwards to Nuku'alofa to attend funerals, &c.

"Some were taken in the way, returned, and died in a few days. It is quite a new complaint in these islands. The first week the complaint broke out here six died in it. We were constantly kept on our feet from the morning to night, giving out medicine, bleeding persons who were seized, &c. It generally attacks the young, strong and healthy. Bleeding is considered indispensably necessary in this affliction. As many as fifteen have been bled in a day at this place. The people are seized in different ways, some at the back of the neck, others at the foot or feet, hand or arms, side, back &c., yet all one complaint. Then comes on a numbness in the limbs, some have much pain, others only a little. It often happens that one or both the arms, one or both the legs, sometimes one arm and one leg, or both arms and both legs, are numb, cold and dead, destitute of all use and feeling. It is almost always preceded by cold shivering, and that followed by a hot fever; very great constipation of the bowels is another very prominent feature in this complaint. [797]

"Many have died suddenly in it, tho' but a few hours before they seemed in full strength, only a little numbness in the limbs. My husband went to see a young woman who did not appear near death then, only both her arms were numb and dead. We went again to her and she was just dying as we entered the house, tho' that were only about three hours after my husband had been talking with her." (84)

In the mid-19th Century the Church was the centre of the community's life. 794
Tonga had become a nation at prayer, in all Wesleyan districts. The Sabbath 796
was the great day of the week, with crowded congregations, enthusiastic choirs, and fervent preaching. Sunday began with prayer meetings at daylight, followed by 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. services, also Sunday School and, generally, evening gatherings of a more informal nature.

Sabbath observance had been readily accepted not only as a welcome 796
cessation from labour but as the external evidence of the change from a 527
non-Christian society. The people believed that the sternest divine sanctions, like their ancient *tapus*, guarded the Sabbath ordinance. This was clear from the early days as when, in 1831, a hurricane wrecked the Spanish brig, *Candide*, in Tongatapu, with some loss of life; the people believed that the tragedy was due to God's wrath upon a crew that had obtained wood and water on the Sabbath preceding the wreck.(85) Tonga has followed its policy of Sabbatarianism to the present day, and this has been embodied in its laws and the Constitution of 1875.

It was almost inevitable that religion tended to consist in compliance with 797
Church rules, as far as many converts were concerned. Attendance at Church in 795
Wesleyan districts was the universal custom; indeed it was specifically enjoined in the Code of Vava'u, 1839, though evidently not enforced. John Thomas 797
declared that even sleeping during a church service was sinful; he believed it was 783
due to tiredness after Saturday night dancing. 513

"I told them of the evil of such things and that it was a sin to sleep in the worship of God." (86)

Not only the prohibition of all work and games on Sunday but the rigid 797
control of personal behaviour became marked features of Tongan Wesleyanism. 794
This discipline became irksome to many as time went on. Thomas Adams, who came in 1847, deplored the unwillingness of many converts to accept "the restraints

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

The line between interference in politics and merely giving advice when requested was often uncertain. This was a controversial matter when, after 1860, Shirley Baker, while he was still a missionary, regularly gave the king advice.

At Taufa'ahau's request, Thomas helped him frame the Vava'u Code of 1839, the king's first venture in legislation on a European model. Promulgated at Neiafu on 29 November 1839, it was the first written law in Tonga, the first step also in limiting the power of the chiefs. It indicated, probably more accurately than later and longer documents, what Taufa'ahau thought was suitable for his people.

The opening phrases showed that the king based the Code on the recognition of God as the fount of law and authority:

> "It is of the God of heaven and earth that I have been appojnted to speak to you; he is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, he doeth whatsoever he pleaseth, he lifteth up one and putteth down another, he is righteous in all his work, we are all the work of his hands and the sheep of his pasture. and his will towards us is that we should be happy."

In this code the chiefs were directed to give land to their people who were under obligation to cultivate it properly. The emphasis placed on industrious habits is a strong feature of these laws. No man who refused to work was to be fed or assisted, and unmarried women who did not work were to suffer in the same way. Chiefs were forbidden to take the property of commoners and they were not to take the law into their own hands. In order to safeguard the gardens it was made unlawful to turn pigs outside their sty. If a pig destroyed a garden, its owner was to shut it up immediately on receiving the complaint and to recompense the damage done; after a second offence it was lawful for the injured person to kill the pig and keep its carcase.

Retailing "ardent spirits" was heavily punished. Adultery and fornication were made criminal offences. (Chevalier Peter Dillon criticized this section.) [46] It was typical of the sternness with which the missionaries of that period were endeavouring to enforce sexual purity that Rabone noted with satisfaction the public flogging of two men and a woman found guilty of fornication. The flogging was carried out by the order of the Governor of Vava'u.

> "May this chastisement be sanctified to their good and the good of all." [47]

These penalties seemed to show that the missionaries' stern denunciations from the pulpit were not always effective. John Thomas had told his people that, "if they did not leave off their adultery and fornication, they would burn in hell for ever", and he also found that, while warning the congregation in these terms, he had to reprove some women twice for laughing.[48]

Other sections of the Code strongly reflected missionary influence. All work and games were prohibited on the Sabbath. Attendance at public worship was enjoined in these terms:

> "That all my people should attend to all the duties of religion towards God; that they should keep holy the Sabbath day, by abstaining from their worldly occupations and labours, and by attending to the preaching of the Word and the worship of God in their places of worship."

A court was established at Neiafu to sit monthly. Four chiefs were appointed as magistrates. The Code of Vava'u was made applicable to Ha'apai also, and to Tongatapu after Taufa'ahau became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1862-1885]

in 1893. He had some knowledge of pharmacy before he went to Tonga. During a long furlough of nearly three years in Sydney (1867-9) he walked the hospitals to acquire a limited knowledge of medicine; he used this on his return to Tonga, with assistance to the Mission staff and their families, for which they were grateful, and in professional services to other Europeans as well as Tongans. He claimed to have treated Europeans without asking for payment, and there is no reason to believe either that his charges were excessive or that he neglected his Mission duties because of medical work. 797

He never forgave the Church in Australia for recalling him in 1879; he deliberately circumvented its decision that he should leave Tonga and he broke his own pledge to do so in order to become Premier in 1880. His actions in 1885 in setting up an independent church, the Free Church [22], could have been founded on a genuine belief that an independent nation should have a self-governing Church, had it not been for the evidence of his vindictiveness towards the Australian Church authorities. All this does not absolve the Wesleyan leaders in Australia from blame for delaying their consent to Tonga becoming a self-governing Church, in spite of their suspicion of what Baker would do with a Church that he would be free to control at will. The crowning wrong of Baker's regime was his allowing the bitter persecutions of those Wesleyans who refused to join the Free Church in 1885 and afterwards. [798]

After Baker became Chairman in 1869, he deliberately sought to please the Wesleyan authorities in Australia by raising large sums, to be applied particularly to the expansion of other Missions, e.g., New Britain. The methods he used were strongly criticized by English traders, by Government officials in Fiji, and by his own missionary colleagues. A colleague, Jabez Bunting Watkin, was most critical of Baker's "vaulting ambition" and declared that he should leave Tonga for the good of the Mission in 1878-9; later, Watkin became Baker's confederate in establishing the Free Church in 1885. In the early years, however, fortune seemed to smile on this ambitious missionary. This was particularly evident in a year famous in Tonga's history — 1862.

* * * *

A festival such as Tonga had not known before was held on 4 June 1862. It marked "Emancipation Day" and the promulgation of the Code of 1862, and it has been observed as an annual holiday ever since. Over 3,000 visitors came from the northern islands in 49 canoes. They were entertained for over two months with 150,000 yams and 9,000 large pigs as part of the bountiful provision offered to all. Basil Thomson's comment was apt, if exaggerated: after two months of wastefulness, "the land was as bare as if a swarm of locusts had passed over it".[23] The mats and native cloth *(ngatu)* presented to the Queen formed two enormous heaps, "each the size of a tolerable wheat-stack". 527 671

On Whitsunday, the Sunday following 4 June, a thanksgiving service was held in the open air with a congregation of nearly 5,000. The king must have felt justifiable satisfaction as he surveyed this scene. The assembly sang "Jesus shall reign" with full-throated Tongan fervour. The first prayer was offered by a chief, David 'Ahome'e; as a missionary present said, "Thank God, the Tongans can pray, though it may be, as one from Samoa says, 'They pray like steam'." The delivery of 10,000 copies of the complete Bible, largely the work of Thomas [779] 527 796

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

West, then in England, printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, synchronized with this epoch-making year. 527 796 779

"All laws relating to serfdom are repealed" was the essence of the detailed provision for the abolition of Tonga's old feudal system. What had been included in the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was made explicit now, in spite of the reluctance of many chiefs. Though the serfdom that had existed in Tonga was not comparable to slavery under masters of another race, as in America, yet the ancient absolute power of Tongan chiefs over the lives and property of their people was out of keeping with the position of the country in 1862. The day of the warrior-chief had passed, and with the spread of education and the acceptance of Christian principles equal opportunities for commoners with chiefs had to be recognized. Not only was the arbitrary rule of the chiefs ended, but the king's own authority itself was limited by the Code of 1862. 566 671 643

Under the new Code, land was to be allotted by the chiefs to their people. All males sixteen years and over were entitled to their allotments, with right of continued possession, provided that the rent was paid. The poll-tax was fixed at three dollars. (Tongan dollar = four shillings.) The rent to be paid to the chiefs for tax-allotments was two shillings per annum. This system of guaranteeing land to all Tongan males has been followed ever since, only the scarcity of land and the population explosion in recent years preventing its full implementation. Salaries to judges and other civil servants were to be paid from public revenue, not from fines as under the old system. Customs duties were fixed. 671 423 622 651 427 652

4 June 1862 is commemorated also for the beginning of parliamentary government. However, there was as yet no formal parliament and a cabinet was not formed until 1875. The first Premier, Crown Prince David 'Unga, was not appointed until 1876. Parliaments met very infrequently in the early period — 1867, 1870, 1874. 646

Much of the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was incorporated in the Code of 1862, but it was also directly influenced by the Hawaiian Constitution of 1855, and the advice of a journalist, Charles St. Julian, afterwards Hawaiian Consul in Sydney, who sent suggestions to the king.[24] 671 177

Shirley Baker, only two years in Tonga, but already making his presence felt, was entrusted with writing out the Code. Whether, at this early stage in his career, he did much more than that for the king is doubtful. 797 671

The missionaries had much less to do with the Code of 1862 than with the previous codes even though the king sometimes consulted them about it. He had reached the stage when he did not generally desire the same dependence on their advice. Some years before this, Richard Amos, when writing to John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, had represented the missionaries' opinion: "The king happens to have a will of his own" (26 October 1857). 797 671 643

Other differences appeared. The king's policy did not always conform to the missionaries' interpretation of Scripture. W. J. Davis wrote to Eggleston that he had spoken to the king who wished to allow divorce and re-marriage after three years' separation, a provision that Davis regarded as "a violation of Scripture" (6 September 1861).[25] The missionaries regretted certain significant omissions in the new Code; adultery and fornication were punishable as before, but there was no longer a prohibition of native dancing. 586

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

affair . . . The complaint of the chiefs is that they were not allowed to say what they wished." (35) 642 643 797

Baker himself wrote to Chapman, on 3 May 1876:

"I must acknowledge that I have drawn out the Constitution and most of the new laws and especially the new civil code, and am putting them through the press, and hope to correct the last sheet this week. . . . I have never pressed anything upon the king." (37)

On 10 June 1876, Watkin again wrote about Baker to Chapman:

"I am not envious in the least of his position in the Church or of his influence with the king — he is welcome to all . . . I am sorry that the Chairman did not consult his brethren when he was preparing the Constitution for the Tonguese. . . . As far as I can learn the feelings of chiefs and people are against the Constitution. . . . The Chairman (also) started *The Tonga Times* [a newspaper] without consulting the brethren." (38) [204]

The Constitution was more formal and detailed than previous codes. It had an admirable declaration of rights and also wisely provided for the royal succession. This avoided quarrels about the kingship such as those that were tearing Samoa asunder. Some had suggested Henry Ma'afu, son of Aleamotu'a, as successor, but he had been in Fiji since 1848 and was a British subject after 1874; he was considered only if the king's family became extinct. Even if 'Unga was regarded as illegitimate through being born before the Christian marriage of his parents, this would have been unworthy, and he was now recognized constitutionally as the heir-apparent, and his son, Ngu, was designated as 'Unga's successor. As it happened, both of them predeceased Tupou I, and Tupou II succeeded as the son of Ngu's sister, Fusipala. 642 643

Certain chiefs (twenty, later thirty-three) were recognized in the Constitution as hereditary nobles. This action pleased these chiefs who had been irritated by the loss of their power over the people in 1862. It created an aristocracy, an affluent element in a poor country, landholders from whom their tribesmen received allotments on payment of rent. It may also have occurred to Baker that the elevation of some chiefs to the rank of nobles would enhance his own prestige with this powerful group; and yet it was from this section that there came much of the opposition that brought about his downfall and ended his political career in 1890. 642 565 [797]

The leasehold system of land tenure was at the heart of the Constitution. It prevented the alienation of land and also any influx of European settlers who could have caused troubles like those which played a part in the cession of Fiji in 1874. The absence of European plantations removed any need for bringing indentured labourers from abroad, again a very grave problem in Fiji. Only the Tongan Cabinet could approve any lease to a European. The Parliament was to consist of 20 nobles and 20 commoners (later, reduced to seven in each case). As in the earlier Codes, the Sabbath was made a sacred institution in perpetuity. Adultery and fornication were still criminal offences. 642 423 609 [645] [427] [646] [527] [684]

Baker may have thought he had weathered the storms within the Mission staff as far as his part in preparing the Constitution was concerned, but his continued involvement in political affairs led to further controversy. He was assailed in the District Meeting on 11 December 1876 on new charges. A fiery and unstable young missionary, James Thomas, brought accusations which, at first, gave Baker an opportunity of turning the tables on his critics. James Thomas alleged that Baker had been "meddling with the politics of Tonga in becoming virtually king", "becoming the author of the new and existing laws of Tonga", 797

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a "phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to provide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexuality appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunkenness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

hotels for drunkenness (and for being badly dressed) in order to "protect the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist." Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are prevalent crimes, and in 1973, for example, there were 427 convictions for theft.

Conclusions

Deep-seated economic problems induced by a growing population have almost engulfed the tiny islands of Tonga. The glitter of tourist money seemingly promises a substantial portion of much-needed economic help, but would it bring more "troubled times"? The current substantial cruise business might be considered relatively benign in that visitors are short-term, and they arrive and depart at a preappointed hour. Comparatively little capital or space is required to cater to their needs, aside from docking areas and taxis or busses. Further, the money cruise passengers spend is largely for local services, (transportation, amusement, and for handicrafts as souvenirs) and directly benefits individuals. The threatened demise of the cruise industry, to be replaced with an increasing number of air travelers, may be potentially more disruptive to the economy and to the culture. To accommodate air visitors, hotels and resort facilities must be financed and built, and they occupy land—already in short supply, giving to it by virtue of location a changed economic value. No longer "bush" or "town," now it is "recreational" land. Given the small size of Nuku'alofa as well as Tongatapu, one must imagine the impact if one thousand guests were continually present, day *and* night, demanding that their needs be catered—including on Sunday when Tongans traditionally do not work. And although air travel is currently nascent, with a limited number of annual visitors, the advent of mass travel could "Waikiki" the beaches, and inundate local culture as has already happened in Hawaii.

The Prime Minister of Tonga (His Majesty's brother) has repeatedly stressed that Tongan culture can withstand the impact of modern tourism development. I, too, am certain that Tongans will survive; however, will they still be Tongans? Or will they become yet another example of a people who have been forced to abandon their traditions (or at least remove them "back stage" away from prying eyes) to prevent their becoming the "quaint customs" of ethnic tourism?

The anthropological analysis of economic process [here, tourism] differs from the statistical methods employed by economic planners in that the former assesses the impact upon culture and the social milieu rather than being restricted to balance-of-trade or the CPI. There is an ethnohistoric component to culture change—from then to now—just as there is a cross-cultural component—from there to here—that must be studied. Tongans must become aware of the changes that have occurred

/96 cont./

476 takes her place (as the family decides).

It is difficult to say whether these kautaha are ancient Tongan institutions. Since government officials usually recommend that the women, for example, make a certain number of mats within a given time, and the festive exhibitions of the kautaha have a certain official character through the presence of the "town officer" /cited in English/, the pastor and the kautaha president (all judges of the exhibited pieces), and since the election of the president strikes one as very European in character, we must assume that this form of the kautaha originated in the more recent period. On the other hand, it seems improbably that formerly the very sociable Tongan women made the large mats and tapa lengths by themselves in their family circle. Surely there were similar work teams in ancient Tonga, which in more recent times then took on the character of the present-day kautaha.

The festivals of the women's kautaha on an island like Nomuka have an important place among the few festivities that are observed in the present village community. It is a festive show of accomplishment which may proceed as follows:

The day before the festival a long roofing (of sticks and coconut palm fronds) is erected for the participants on a place in the village. On the morning of the festival several earth-ovens are prepared by the husbands of the various members, with the help of the women and their relatives. The festival (often called a "show" /cited in English/) starts around noon. If there is a brass band in the village it strikes up /97/ and the invited guests of both sexes (that is to say, a large part of the village population) take their seats in no particular order. The tapa pieces that have been brought along as gifts for the hosts are, for the time being, used as seat pads and are later (before the banquet) gathered up by the hosts. The show begins. The women of the kautaha (older as well as younger ones)

/83 cont./

851 followed by a small celebration.

527 852 The Tongans pay little attention to birthdays. Only the completed first year of a child is generally celebrated. The father's contribution to the festival is a well-filled earth oven (with pig[s], yams, taro, sweet potatoes, kape, manioc pudding, etc.), but the mother's relatives also generally contribute food (for example, a roast pig, a /84/ rich-cream cake, European-style), and there is an exchange of mat and tapa gifts. The celebration usually starts with a hymn and a prayer (this among the Wesleyans is often spoken by the pastor), then follows the feast at which 20 or 30 relatives and friends take part and at which the mother with her one-year-old child is given the place of honor. After the meal, the group breaks up.

527 852 177 [805] This festival marking the completion of the first year of life, which is celebrated by commoners as well as chiefs, is, at least as far as the date is concerned, a European-influenced arrangement, for in ancient Tonga an accurate calendar was unknown and birthdays could not be determined. The prayer and the presence of a pastor also show European influence.

165 163 Infant mortality is average. For example, of the 25 children born on the small island of Nomuka in the course of a year, four died. Today, in general, the number of births by far surpasses the deaths in the total population. (238)

[113] 238. In 1950, for example, 1798 births and 501 deaths were registered in Tonga (Report of the Department of Justice for the Year 1950 /cited in English., Nuku'alofa 1951. pp. 3/4).

[161] Since Tongans in the past very probably never numbered more than 25,000 persons, (239)

239. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 4; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 4.

/97 cont./

476 527 574 each one brings a long length of tapa and two mats which they spread out before the guests and the judges (for example, the district officer /cited in English/, a few pastors and the presidents of the village kautaha). The brass band plays an accompaniment to this, a group [533] of young Tongans join in with a song and occasionally a woman will beat a large bass drum. The women of the kautaha, young as well as old, [535] are quite boisterous; when they bring out the individual pieces they often dance, sway their hips in time to the music, stride and dance over the outspread splendors, amidst the applause and laughter of the spectators. The judges seriously scrutinize and consider. The show lasts about two hours. Then the drum is beaten, the school bell is rung, the band plays and the coconut-leaf tables (pola kai), (271)

271. Or corrugated metal tables covered with banana leaves.

laden with food, are brought and arranged in long rows between the guests. Whole roast pigs, baked fish, large crabs, corned beef, [262] /cited in English/ chickens, new yams, bread fruit and bananas from [177] the earth-oven lie piles up on the tables, crowned with earthenware [272] plates of "English pudding" /cited in English/ (resembling gingerbread with a red floury sauce), small cakes and rich cream tortes, in addition to glass jugs with red and yellow, very sweet lemonade. A prayer is said, and people begin to eat. During this meal some ten speeches are made. The district officer or town officer thanks the women for always following the orders of their president and for preparing the entire festival so nicely. Other speakers thank the president of this kautaha and also the women. The president gives out prizes (often in the form of money) for the best pieces; a matapule also delivers a long speech about freedom in Tonga and obedience to the chiefs. A prayer ends the feast and people return home while the band still plays and the hosts fill baskets with leftover food to send to the houses of the

/97 cont./

476 guests. Everybody is satisfied except one woman of the kautaha who
527 did not fulfill her "quota" (a length of tapa and two mats); she
574 spent some time on a visit to another island, and is very sad because
(554) of the bad impression she made on the audience.

476 Like the kautaha itself, the festival seems to be a recent
527 institution in which all kinds of old and new customs and traditions
574 mingle. Such festivals probably serve to stimulate achievement and
178 provide public control over work. Among the members of the kautaha,
182 they fulfill the need for recognition within the social group and at
621 the same time give large circles of the village community the much
(626) desired opportunity for a happy social life. However, the entire
village community is not included in such a festival. The kautaha
(203) invites relatives and friends, members of other kautaha and, above
all, the influential men of the village (often with written invitations),
so that the festival group includes approximately one-third or /98/
one-quarter of all adults of a particular settlement. Those who are
not invited feel that it is a matter of courtesy not to attend the
festival.

527 Other festivities (272)
574
794 272. Aside from the various "picnics"
/cited in English/ on the beach
or in the bush, organized by young
men and girls.

in the villages are nowadays usually connected with the church. Thus,
every Sunday, members of the three Wesleyan churches of Tonga
take turns giving a feast (faka-afe), usually mornings and afternoons
following the church services, to which the preachers, the eldest
kinsman of the host, and friends are invited. After a kava circle a
(262) meal is served (for example, the contents of an earth-oven: a pig,
(272) yams, sweet potatoes, a large salt-water fish, canned meat and manioc
pudding; or white bread with marmelade, cocoa and condensed milk),

/98 cont./
which is often paid for in advance by collections taken in the congregation. After the meal the guests disperse. The meaning of this feast is to thank God with food and drink for His blessings, through the preacher as His intercessor. Undoubtedly this type of festivity may be traced back to mission activity, but it is now organized by the Tongan festival. This is shown even more clearly in the large faka-afe on the last day of the year. If, for example, eight preachers of the congregation are to speak on the evening of December 31st, a special banquet is given for each of them on this day. The pastor, the eight lay preachers and their invited guests-- altogether 20 or more individuals--go from one banquet to another, soon amply fed and without appetite, but always intent on eating more and leaving a little room for the next meal (out of courtesy to the host). In serious and carefully worded speeches they give thanks to God for having taken care of the community throughout the year which is coming to an end, and for always having given it sufficient food; nor do they forget, in these speeches, to thank their respective hosts at great length.

The Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost have not acquired deeper significance within the village community. To be sure, preparations for Christmas, for example, are considerable: weeks before, people busily make copra, stock quantities of European food for selling (bagsful of sugar and flour, six-pound cans of corned beef, etc.), and dress material, and they sew new gala attire. However, the holidays then pass without special events; only a few young men get drunk and beat each other up. Many Tongans even continue working on holidays, and the only function that unites the community (besides /99/ church attendance) is the performance in many villages of the large Wesleyan church choir which, during Holy Night, moves from house to house, like English carol singers, singing British Christmas carols /cited in English/ and other Tongan-English songs and, in

/99 cont./

return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players go about in the same way.

It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village. It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover, the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs (each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan churches has become important in the community life of many villages, for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and women.

Whereas the festivals mentioned (kautaha-show, faka-afe), the church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the village population (through membership or by special invitation), the old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male Tongan.

In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other islands of the South Seas. (273)

273. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 224; Johann Reinhold Forster's Bemerkungen... /Comments/ p. 416.

Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives in this custom, (274)

274. See J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

/101 cont./

276 574 461 men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this form. (283)

283. Also in construction work of a European nature (for example, building a cement tank for drinking water, making concrete blocks for a church building) this custom is observed.

276 527 585 764 Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all other festive occasions--generally before the meal.

276 178 Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village, compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in [199] Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it. [293] [292] Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)

284. Only with a permit from the police minister or by the dangerous way of the black market or non-licensed brewing.

but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the [415] typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly indestructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings 276 574 565 of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)

285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.

178 have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

/109 cont./

642 [641] [646] [651] [646] of the people was established. At the same time the poll tax and the leases on land were determined. This form of government, however, did not seem at first to function like its European counterpart. The sessions of parliament were held very irregularly, with interruptions lasting for years.

642 177 On November 4, 1875 Tonga obtained its proper constitution which was drawn up after the British model (constitutional monarchy). It consists of a declaration of rights (freedom of life, property, belief, etc.), the establishment of a government (sovereign, council of state, cabinet, legislative assembly and judiciary) and the regulation of landed property. Despite many subsequent improvements, [178] [527] this constitution forms the principal foundation of the Tonga state to this day, and November 4th is observed each year by everyone as a [186] national holiday. At the same time the Kingdom of Tonga adopted its [official] seal and flag. This constitution was worked out for the Tongan ruler by British Wesleyan missionaries, especially Shirley Baker.

645 177 Shirley Baker soon became prime minister of Tonga. He held this office from 1880 to 1890. That year the British High Commissioner deported him to New Zealand, for the English had felt for a long time that he was a disturbing element in the political development of the Southwest Pacific, because of his strongly independent manner of administration.

648 [645] Under the influence of Shirley Baker a treaty was signed on November 1, 1876, between the Tongan government and the German Empire. In the accord the Germans recognized George I and the independence of Tonga, while the Tongans gave the Germans the right to trade and of a marine coaling station on Vava'u. (304)

304. As early as 1855, through the governor of Tahiti, a treaty was imposed between France

/189 cont./

262 184 This list shows that 228 out of 353 'Uiha meals consisted exclusively of products that were available even in ancient Tonga, while 69 of the 173 Fungamisi meals were prepared on a purely "ancient Tongan basis." The influence of the seaport of Neiafu on the village of Fungamisi is recognizable; the example of the European and half-caste households there, as well as abundant supplies in the shops of that town clearly influence the standard of living of the neighboring settlement. The proportion of salted meat, corned beef, white bread, butter, tea, etc., is noticeable. The "European ingredients" (483)

262 184 177 [244] [432]

483. "European ingredients" include all foods that were not available in ancient Tonga, but reached the Archipelago only as a result of European influences and are procured today by planting (for example, manioc, see pp. 231-232, 240-241) or by purchase from shopkeepers (for example, corned beef, roast beef, salted meat, sugar, flour, white bread, zwieback, tea, cocoa, coffee).

of 'Uiha and Fungamisi meals are usually no more than "supplementary." /190/ Manioc, however, appears as a basic food, and in Fungamisi there are a few families who have already gone over to regular bread meals. The very large proportion of breadfruit is due to the fact that the months of April/May are the main harvest time for it.

262 [221]

262 264 Basically, the meals for Sundays, holidays and feasts are the same as everyday meals; they differ only in quantity and in richer ingredients (and sometimes more complicated preparation). As examples we list 12 Sunday meals in the village of 'Uiha (April 1952) and four gala meals (faka afe) (484)

[527] [574]

484. See p. 142-143.

on Nomuka (December 1951):

100: Koch-- 284 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

['Uiha]
[Nomuka]

/190 cont./

262
264
252
177

Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of
Breadfruit, b. fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Carica papaya corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Taro, st. Carica papaya salted meat
Breadfruit, b. pork	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. taro leaves fish corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st.
Breadfruit, st. fish octopus	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. sweet potato leaves corned beef fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., sweet potato leaves corned beef		

262
264
529
574
177
252

Gala Meal(faka afe) (Nomuka) consisting of	Gala Meal(faka afe) (Nomuka) consisting of
Yams, st. kape, st. Bananas (hopa), st. Tonga pudding(faikakai) pork chicken fish	Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. kape, st. bananas (siaine) English pudding pork chicken duck
Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. Bananas (hopa), st. watermelon English pudding pork fish corned beef red lemonade	Fried cakes Zwieback with marmalade Cocoa made with water, added condensed milk and sugar red lemonade

(292)

/222 cont./

287 178 177 [565] production from the supervision of nobles coarsened the results is difficult to say. The old tapa pieces in the Göttingen Institute of Ethnology, (581)

581. That is, Numbers Oz. 575, 578-580; all from the Cook-Forster Collection.

for example, scarcely surpass the products of the present, and though the patterns customary today may seem in part clumsy, yet they show a certain skill and assurance in the decoration of large areas.

287 529 177 The Christianization of the Archipelago has influenced tapa-making insofar as this work, like every other, is laid aside on Sundays and is scarcely done even on Saturdays. (582)

582. On account of preparations for Sunday.

287 461 The Tongan women also try to finish all planned koka'anga work (that is, the pasting and coloring of the large pieces) before the Christmas season; in the new year they gradually start beating feta'aki (raw tapa), and it often takes months before the first koka'anga again takes place.

285 283 287 177 198 In summary we may say about the plait- and knotwork as well as tapa-making of the Tongans that in their use of materials and in their technique they have, to a large extent, preserved their heritage from the past. True, some of it has been lost, new things have arisen, European expedients have gained entrance, and the products of today seem /223/ in part cruder in comparison with ancient Tongan work. Yet one can scarcely spead of an actual deterioration.

In addition to employment of materials and technique, it may be interesting to note the distribution of these products among the Tongan people in the past and at present. In this connection we [565] discover that today a certain quantity of such pieces are to be found in every Tongan household, and that, as a result of the "liberation" of commoners and the attendant "debasing" of types once reserved for

/227 cont./

512
(252) women, the husbands prepare earth-oven meals for their working wives.

may influence and change the customary daily routine of some families.
[592] The size of the family naturally plays a part in the daily routine, since kinfolk (men as well as women) living with the family can make tasks easier or take them over from the other members of the household.
512
461 However, the Tongan men and women are, of course, the determining factor in the daily routine; undoubtedly there is a certain need to work, but owing to the climate and the relatively rich resources of their homeland, work is not heavy enough to be burdensome so that, with Tongan equanimity, many a plan can be cheerfully postponed for days or weeks, and one can take a nap if one feels in the mood, or spend a forenoon or an afternoon at a game. (591)

591. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that during the hottest period of the day (around 13 or 14 o'clock) men will work on the plantations and women, for example, will gather food along the shore while the majority of villagers take a rest.

512
527 The daily routine as described applies only to the week days from Monday to Friday, for on Saturday preparations are made for Sunday: the men bring food for Sunday from the plantations (or from the sea), and the women are busy (besides their daily chores of preparing meals, taking care of the house, attending to the children) washing clothes and cleaning the grassy areas of their properties, which the men have cut short. The Sunday routine is, however, quite
[799] different. As a result of the missionization of the Archipelago,
[461] chiefly carried on by the Wesleyans, there is strict observance of rest from work on this day. Early in the morning (usually around
[796] five o'clock) people attend the /228/ first church service followed, in the course of the day, by two or three further church attendances,

/228 cont./

512
527
(592)

592. Children also attend Sunday school.

796
794 in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part.
252 Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help
264 of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main
264 Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it
574 sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the
212 bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the
571 week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups
264 gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (<u>faka-afe</u>).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

463
461 594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of
177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties
178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)
527

595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

/228 cont./

choir practice; school work.

and Christianization has brought the idea of the "week" and of Sunday. Yet, aside from this day of rest, the rhythm of the daily activity seems to have remained the same: the Tongan functions with matter-of-fact equanimity, and the abundance of new duties and tasks has not been able to decrease, much less destroy, his inner calm.

F. Transportation (Land and Sea)

In examining the development of Tongan transportation we must naturally make a distinction between land traffic (on the islands) and sea traffic (within the Archipelago as well as between other islands and countries of the Pacific).

With regard to travel by land, it may be said that the majority of natives still travel on foot. They often walk hour-long /229/ distances--transporting burdens at the same time--(596)

596. See pp. 249-251.

on the small islands as well as the large ones, though on the latter, in order to cover great distances, they make increasing use of means of transportation that have come to the Archipelago as a result of European influence.

The horse (597)

597. See p. 256-258.

that was introduced by Europeans has become very important for many natives (of the large as well as the small islands) as a riding- and pack-animal.

As a draft animal it is used to draw the two-wheeled carts (598)

598. See p. 256-258.

which have proved very useful on the streets, roads and paths of the islands (even in the bush) and are also European imports; in ancient Tonga the principle of the wheel was unknown. These wagons are not

/253 cont./

796 Along with a doubtlessly often felt inner need, there is also a desire
794 to be seen in public and to enjoy the reputation of being a good
[626] Christian, which plays an important part in this church attendance, and the number of Tongans who believe that with this frequent attendance at services (and with their prayers at home) they are doing enough for their welfare on this earth and for their salvation is probably not insignificant. This attitude, however, is probably less Tongan than typically human, and the Tonga Archipelago is doubtless not exceptional among the rest of the Christian countries of the world. Yet it seems noteworthy that these rather casual human beings to whom the European time sense is so foreign should attend church services so regularly.
[152] The majority of them seem to listen devoutly and with wholehearted feeling to the sermon and try to experience within themselves the biblical passages discussed, /255/ so that, like the preacher, they
[533] often have tears in their eyes. Their singing of the hymns is loud
[186] and fervent. They are, at any rate, convinced that they are real Christians, (679)

[527] [461]

679. Strange, though probably understandable with the Old Testament bias of the Methodists, is the attitude of the Wesleyan Tongans to Sundays and to the important church holidays. While on Sunday a strict rest from work is observed, at Easter, Good Friday and the Christmas days they simply attend the services and then work at various activities that seem necessary. On the first Christmas day in 1951 on Nomuka working Tongans were questioned and gave the following explanation: "Sunday is the Lord's day of rest, and Christmas is only the birthday of His Son."

and are proud of the fact that they are good church-goers, and they speak disdainfully of worldly and disbelieving whites with whom they have become acquainted during the present decades, especially during the last World War (troops on Tongatapu). Although the younger

/261 cont./

535 served chiefly as entertainment and were performed on joyful occasions, especially at the festivities of chiefs; (708)

708. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 137.

but big dances were also staged on the occasion of important acts of worship (for example, burials of great chiefs, (709)

709. S.J.Wilson, Missions-Reise /Missionary journey/...p. 365; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 417.

inasi-festival) (710)

710. See E.E.V. Collocott, Tales...p. 116.

large dances were staged. The reports of European seafarers who visited the islands in those days are full of admiration for the skill and perfect uniformity of movement which the Tongans displayed in the grand group dances.

535 178 [177] [999] Today large dances are seldom performed. Since the suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries who substituted studying the bible in place of the "heathenish games, dances and similar endless amusements," (711)

711. See Th. West, Ten years...pp. 213/214.

the ancient Tongan dance has not had a special flowering, although, thanks to the (diplomatic) tolerance of the Catholic missionaries (712)

712. See Annales...XVIII. pp. 26/27.

and to the conservative attitude of older chiefs, (713)

713. See B. Thomson, Savage island /cited in English/ p. 218.

it has been handed down to the present in various forms, and is today even taught in the schools and practiced for the large school festivals to be presented in contests between individual classes.

[527] Nonetheless, for very special occasions (for example, a wedding

/261 cont./

535 178 529 in the royal family or some other extraordinary festival such as the 50th anniversary of the Treaty with England) the natives learn such dances in the various villages, (714)

714. Older men and women are the dance teachers (punake).

and they often practice these for months until the individual movements of all participants are very precisely coordinated, as in the past. Besides such dances intended for the most important 535 festivals, there are today two forms of a casual, improvised native dance, the tau'olunga and the hula. These, as well as the rest /262/ of the most well-known Tongan dances may be briefly described in the following list which will also give some idea of the changes that have taken place in comparison with the past.

tau'olunga:

is danced by Tongan men and women of all ages, even by children and very old people. The majority of natives master this simplest of Tongan dances.

Generally, two men and two women demonstrate it. They wear [291] European clothing, but often only underwear and over it ornamental [177] belts (for example, mana fau, kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324) [292] and necklaces of plant material (kakala) (see pp. 82-84). [301]

Especially at kava gatherings, at village festivals and at [574] weddings, a few young men and girls dance the tau'olunga, the various steps and movements of which are improvised. They accompany [533] the dance with special songs (containing descriptions of landscapes, various flowers, the fragrance of blossoms, the moon, the sun, love and so on) and also play guitar accompaniments while the audience mark time with hand-clapping. The tau'olunga is danced at any time of the day, but usually in the evening.

/262 cont./

535 [177] This dance does not seem to be very old in Tonga, and was probably borrowed from Samoa about a century ago.

hula:

is danced only by girls (women) about 12 to 30 years of age. The hula is quite popular; about half the young women can perform it.

Only one or two girls (women) at a time demonstrate this dance. [292] [301] [291] [177] [574] [529] They usually put on the ornamental belt (for example, mana fau, kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324) and necklaces of plant material (kakala) (see pp. 82-84) and wear European underwear. On many occasions, for example kava- picnic- birthday- and wedding-gatherings, the hula may be danced. The dancers move (especially their hips and the upper part of their bodies) to the singing of a chorus and the playing of several guitars. The hula may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The hula is a new dance taken over from Hawaii in the 30s of this century. There too it originated only in recent times.

laka-laka:

is danced by Tongan men and women about 16 to 60 years of age. The laka-laka is probably the most popular and most often performed of the large dances. Approximately half of all natives are proficient in it.

About 60 natives take part in a laka-laka; however, their number may reach 400. Both sexes are about equally represented, but equal numbers are not a prerequisite. Usually all male participants wear the same dance costume (for example, white shirt, black vala of European material, ta'o-vala [see pp. 69-71], kahoa and sisi kakala [see pp. 82-84]), just as all /263/ female participants are uniformily dressed (for example, dance shirt kofu lou fau and vala of tapa [ngatu 'uli] [see pp. 84-85 and 330-333]).

[554] The dancers usually stand in two rows (more, if many people

/267 cont./

535 177 to take over and imitate something new. (724)

724. For data about the dances and dance songs borrowed from Samoa at the beginning of the previous centruy see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 330-333.

535 765 177 The dances today are also free from any religious meaning; on the occasion of a death in the village the natives even refrain--in Christian fashion--from any activity of this kind for several days.

535 177 European dances such as the foxtrot, the march, the slow waltz, etc., are today also familiar to many Tongans.

[574] Younger Tongans of both sexes from the age of approximately 14 to 40 take part in these dances; on special occasions (for example, the visit of the High Commissioner in Nuku'alofa) older natives (for example [government] ministers) also dance at evening parties.

[527] [574] In general, such "European dances" (hulo hula) take place on Constitution Day, when foreign visitors are being welcomed, when there is a wedding or a birthday celebration, especially in the chief towns, but even in the more remote villages of the large and small islands.

European dress is worn (for example, the cloth vala) and people dance (mainly in houses with wooden or cement floors) in couples to the playing of guitars (or violins, banjos, mandolins, etc.).

These European dances are given only in the evening.

535 178 The most important result of the development, however, is the fact that today there is considerably less dancing than there was in ancient Tonga. The large native dances have to a great extent disappeared from public life. While at the end of the 18th century the [574] Tongans could at all times entertain with excellent dance performances European seafarers who visited them unexpectedly, they will now only occasionally and with difficulty rehearse a few dances for large special occasions. The reason for this decline is doubtless the

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

262
146 and are often excluded from the diet.[1] On the other hand, imported
262 foods are perceived as being prestigious items. Some imports have
146 limited nutritional value, although often below that of domestic
263 products, while others such as refined flour, cereal products and sugar may cause or aggravate conditions of ill health, sugar being
263 an obvious offender. Hansell (1962, p. 288) listed increased sugar
164 consumption as being the principal cause of the rapid rise in the incidence of dental caries in Tonga. Personal observations verified this situation, with a marked predominance of cases noted in Nuku'alofa.

125 During the data collection process, a 24-hour dietary recall was conducted for each preschool subject, to determine any obvious dietary variations between rural and urban children. In addition, a frequency of consumption record was taken for the entire family, listing the frequency during an average week with which selected foodstuffs were consumed (i.e., fresh or canned meats and milk, tubers, cereal products, soft drinks, alcoholic products and sugar). In collecting this data care was taken to avoid the inclusion of
[527] weekend food consumption, especially that of Sunday. Because Sunday
[574] is a traditional day of feasting and heavy eating, a 24-hour dietary recall of this day would give a skewed and unrealistic picture of the preschooler's food consumption pattern.

---

[1] The best example of this is the leaf of the taro plant. The leaf is used in the preparation of many dishes called "Lū" (i.e., lū pulu or beef, lū ika or fish) in which the meat is, in combination with coconut cream, etc., wrapped in taro leaves and cooked. However, the prepared dish is usually eaten without the leaf wrapping. In addition, raw vegetables, such as cabbage or greens, are not eaten.